

**THE IMPACT OF THE 1872 EDUCATION (SCOTLAND) ACT,
ON SCOTTISH WORKING CLASS EDUCATION UP TO 1899.**

MADELEINE MONIES

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH
1974.**



To George

CONTENTS

	Page
Summary	i
Acknowledgements	iii
Preface	iv
List of Abbreviations	v
 Introduction Economic and Social Background of Scotland between 1800 and 1872	 1.
 CHAPTER 1 Scottish Education between 1840 and 1872	 13.
Section 1. The Churches and Scottish Education	17.
Section 2. Private Effort in Scottish Education between 1840 and 1872	42.
Section 3. The Government and Education between 1840 and 1872	49.
Section 4. Ragged and Industrial Schools	55.
Conclusion	59.
 CHAPTER 2 The Passing of the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act	 63.
 CHAPTER 3 The Effect of the 1872 Act on School Organisation	 88.
Section 1. The 1872 Act and Religious Education	90.
Section 2. Inspectors, Inspection and the Act of 1872	96.
Section 3. The School Curriculum before and after 1872	103.
Section 4. Teachers' Conditions before and after 1872	118.
Section 5. School Attendance and School Fees	130.
Section 6. Accommodation in Scottish Schools: Theory and Practice	147.
Conclusion	159.
 CHAPTER 4 Life in the Schoolroom after 1872: Teachers at Work; Pupils and Social Mobility	 163.
Section 1. Teachers, HMI's of Schools and School Boards	165.
Section 2. The Scottish Schoolroom after 1872	182.

CHAPTER 4 (continued)		Page
	Section 3. Social Mobility and the 1872 Act	190.
	Section 4. School Memories	210.
	Conclusion	215.
CHAPTER 5	The Social Composition of School Boards in Scotland	218.
CHAPTER 6	Finance, Government and Local Autonomy	248.
	Section 1. Denominational Education and the Privy Council	250.
	Section 2. School Boards and the Scotch Education Department	254.
CHAPTER 7	The Denominational and Voluntary Schools and the Act	284.
CHAPTER 8	Secondary Education Under the Act of 1872	308.
	Section 1. Advanced Instruction in Schools Supported by Local Rates	310.
	Section 2. The Public Higher Class Schools of Scotland up to 1892	330.
	Section 3. Secondary Education and the Working Class: the '90's	338.
CHAPTER 9	Conclusion	345.
Glossary		I
Appendix		V
Bibliography		X

SUMMARY

This thesis attempts to map out and analyse the reasons for change in nineteenth century Scottish education, where the instruction of working class children was concerned. While the bulk of the study deals with the Education (Scotland) Act of 1872 and its effects, the underlying changes in nineteenth century Scottish society will also be taken into account.

The nineteenth century was a time of rapid social, economic, and political change for Scotland. The Scots became an industrial and urban people. The State concerned itself more with the affairs of individuals. Sectarian conflict disrupted the national Church; political pressures eroded the power of the landed gentry. A distinct working class emerged. An educational system barely adequate for rural Scotland foundered under the strains of an industrial society.

The campaign for reform in Scottish education culminating in the Education (Scotland) Act of 1872 will be described, and reasons for the form assumed by the new legislation, suggested. The effects of the Act on such aspects of school life as attendance and curriculum will be described and discussed, and the role of the Codes and amending legislation, analysed. An attempt will be made to describe the actual situation in the classroom, and to determine who controlled working class education.

Two themes run through this thesis. The first is the interaction between society and education. The second is the increasing interest of the State in education for the working class.

These themes intersected at three main points during the century. Firstly, in 1840, State inspection was made a primary condition of State aid to voluntary, denominational, education. By 1872, the

organisation of Scottish elementary education was too confused for efficient administration, and the Education (Scotland) Act, was passed as a remedy. Thirdly, a society which needed skilled workers to survive, found by 1899, that post-primary education in the elementary schools was too top heavy to be of use. Out of this chaos came the Code of 1899, which gave administrative respectability to a class-based educational system. A centuries-old tradition of education from first principles to university entrance under one roof, was dead.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I should like to express my gratitude to the University of Edinburgh for a three year Studentship which allowed me to undertake this research.

I have, also, to thank those colleagues and friends who helped me in this study - my husband, for his unfailing support; my supervisors, Professors Flinn and Smout, for their advice and encouragement; other members of staff and fellow students in the Department of Economic History, and many friends, for bibliographic and other contributions. I wish to express my appreciation, also, for the co-operation and kindness I met with in the county libraries of Ayrshire and Sutherland; in Glasgow City Archives; in Inverness County Buildings; and in Roxburgh County Buildings. Finally, I should like to thank the staffs of Edinburgh University Library; the Scottish Record Office; the National Library of Scotland; Edinburgh Central Public Library; and the Mitchell Library, Glasgow, for their help and courtesy. They have all given their advice and support; if I fall short, it is my responsibility.

PREFACE

The compelling motive behind this thesis was a desire to find out what really happened to education for working class children after the Education (Scotland) Act of 1872. All too soon, it became apparent that this was the least of the interests of most commentators on the subject. For this reason, much comment, even where concerned with primary sources, has been in the form of suggestion, rather than in a tone of finality.

Five areas, containing twenty five school boards, were chosen for detailed study. Out of approximately 980 school boards, this seems a very small sample. However, one board was Glasgow, responsible for the education of about one-fifth of Scottish children. Of the other areas, Ayrshire (Auchinleck, Dalmellington, Dalrymple, Dreghorn, Kirkoswald, Muirkirk, Old Cumnock, St Quivox, and Symington) was chosen to illustrate the workings of the 1872 Act in a mixed farming/industrial economy. Roxburghshire (Ancrum, Bedrule, Castleton, Hawick Burgh, Hobkirk, Kelso, Lilliesleaf, Linton, and St Boswells) was used to exemplify the reactions of a prosperous farming community. The burgh of Hawick offered an example of the response of a small manufacturing burgh to the new system of education. Finally, the choice of Sutherland and Inverness was intended to illustrate the impact of the Act on a declining and poverty-stricken Highland area. Unfortunately, the limited survival of school board minute books (Clyne, Creich, and Loth in Sutherland; Daviot and Dunlichty, Kiltarlity and Kirkhill in Inverness) confined this part of the study to eastern parishes, largely English-speaking. It is not intended to suggest that the response of these school districts holds true for all Scotland; their reactions serve as illustrations only.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN TEXT AND FOOTNOTES

ACC	Ayr County Council
Arg.Com.	Second Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Schools in Scotland
Board of Education	Report(s) of the Board of Education (1872-79)
Committee of Council	Report(s) of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland
EIS	Educational Institute of Scotland
GCA	Glasgow City Archives
Hansard	Hansard's Parliamentary Debates
HMI	Her Majesty's Inspector. Reports of Inspectors indicated by the name of the Inspector e.g. <u>Walker</u>
ICC	Inverness County Council
LAP	Lord Advocate's Papers
NC	Napier Commission
NLS	National Library of Scotland
NSA	New Statistical Account
NBDM	North British Daily Mail
PP	Parliamentary Papers, Great Britain
RCC	Roxburgh County Council
RV	Rateable Value
SB	School Board
SED	Scotch Education Department
SRO	Scottish Record Office
SSPCK	Society in Scotland for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge
SCC	Sutherland County Council

"Jimsie"

"A clever lad was Jimsie at the schule,
The minister's son could never win the prize,
The maister - and the maister was no fule -
Said Jimsie, gi'en a chance, was shair tae rise:
His paintin's yet are in the maister's neuk,
Gowans and roses o' a sunlit day,
But Jimsie slaves for coppers doon the 'dook';
A drawer o' wealth for ithers tae display:
He never has the pencil in his hand,
Unless tae mark a coupon or a horse,
For hours each nicht doon at the lamp he'll stand,
Tossin' for pennies, and losin' wi' a curse.

The minister's son, I heard the ither day,
Is makin' straucht tae be an R.S.A."

Joe Corrie.

INTRODUCTION

Section 1. Economic and Social Background of Scotland prior to 1872.

We live in an age of express trains, telegraphs, &., where men jostle each other in the race of life and scarcely take time even to eat or to sleep in comfort. (School Inspector's comment, 1886)¹

The measure of this new age was that by 1872 almost all the old Scottish institutions had undergone a substantial measure of change.

Firstly, the majority of employed Scots were by then engaged, directly or indirectly, in industrial pursuits. This was reflected in the Census for 1871.²

<u>Classes</u>	<u>Both Sexes</u>
I Professional	3.69%
II Domestic	10.85
III Commercial	7.81
IV Agricultural	18.39
V Manufacturing	51.02
VI Indefinite	8.24

With industrialisation went urbanisation. There was a tendency for population to grow fastest in the Central and West Central belts of the country. The bulk of the Scots now lived in these areas instead of, as in 1800, being fairly evenly distributed across the country. Together with this redistribution went an enormous increase in population - it almost doubled between 1811 and 1871. The nature of Scotland's population also changed. The condition of Ireland after the Famine meant that Scotland, with her fast growing industries offered the chance of work, and survival.

¹ Parliamentary Papers (hereafter referred to as PP), 1886, XXVII, Report by Dr. Wilson, p. 164.

² Census of 1871.

Most of the Irish (many of them Roman Catholic) were concentrated in the industrial areas of the Central and West Central belt, though a certain number did filter through to the Lothians where they found work in the mines, while others reached Dundee with its jute mills.

Such an upheaval in the economic and demographic life of the country could not occur without some social and political effects. The harsh certainties of agrarian life were replaced by the frantic struggle for survival in the urban jungles. A rapidly developing technology brought its own problems as groups were thrown out of employment by more productive working methods. The result might be short-term dislocations as in the spinning mills, or a long-drawn out period of increasing misery as was the lot of the handloom weavers. The simple repetitive tasks of factory labour encouraged the employment of young children - no new factor in Scottish life, but intensified by large-scale industrialisation. The State also began to play an increasing part in the lives of ordinary people - the Public Health Acts being a prime example of this. The effects on a field like Scottish education of increasing British State interest had important consequences.

The need to live near to the point of employment exacerbated the problems of urban life and demanded new methods of dealing with the increased squalor. A developing society also produced new groups who wished to have a say in their own affairs and thus produced not only a widening of the franchise but also an increasingly militant working class.

Necessity demanded a solution to these novel problems. Growing local difficulties meant increasing central control. This in turn meant increased expenditure both at the central and local level. Middle class complaints about central "dictatorship" were mollified by gradual reforms and an increasing share in government office. The mercantile section was conciliated by the repeal of the Corn Laws and the lifting of mercantilist restrictions on

trade. The enfranchisement of the urban working class by the Second Reform Act offered a legitimate channel for the solution of their grievances - one Chartist movement was enough for British politics.

Where urban squalor was concerned, the centre offered a number of Public Health Acts. At first these were enabling; later experience demanded prescriptive legislation. Factory conditions were subjected to increasing inspection and control. Poor relief was rationalised.

Much of this was outside the aegis of the traditional guardian of Scottish welfare - the Church of Scotland. By the 1840's the Kirk had lost its unity and consequently its control over parish relief. Even without the Disruption, however, it seems likely that a system that had worked with reasonable efficiency in a compact rural parish, was ineffective in the face of urban growth. Campbell notes³ that even in the eighteenth century the principle of voluntarism had to be abandoned in large cities like Glasgow and Edinburgh, and that some sort of ad hoc administration of poor relief was set up.

The disrupted Church had nevertheless clung to its first care - education. But even here the tentacles of State control were reaching in mid century.

Section 2. Attitudes to the extension and improvement of working class education prior to 1872.

The ideal governing pre-industrial education in Scotland arose from the belief that the first step towards a godly life was the ability to read the Scriptures. The need to "win" the privilege of Communion emphasised

¹ R.H. Campbell: Scotland since 1707 (1965), p. 207.

this attitude.⁴ By the nineteenth century, however, other factors became prominent. Humanitarianism, enlightened self-interest, and the necessity for social control guided middle class thinking about education. An increasingly self-conscious working class also demanded the improvement of educational facilities for motives ranging from the desire for self-improvement to rarefied idealism.

No one social group had a monopoly either of idealism or of self-interest. On occasions, the same individual expressed conflicting attitudes. In 1851, Dr. Woodford praised the Privy Council's scheme of social control as embodied in the Industrial Schools which were

situated in the denser parts of great cities, and intended to attract from the streets vagrant youths, who are there trained to criminal pursuits, or accustomed to begging or vagrancy.⁵

In contrast, he put forward a much broader view of education in his Report for 1853.

It is an object ... through the medium of improvement in school, not only to improve the education, but otherwise the whole social condition of the labouring classes.⁶

Woodford's ideal was echoed by Charles Wilson, an inspector of Free Church schools.

The Free Church School, formed on the model of the Parish school, was intended to provide a sound education in English, and, at least, the rudiments of Latin, to the inhabitants of a district, without distinction of rich and poor.⁷

Even more lofty was the ideal of the London Co-Operative Society in 1825:

⁴ W. Boyd: Education in Ayrshire through Seven Centuries (1961), p. 10.

⁵ PP 1851, XLIV, II, Woodford, p. 731.

⁶ PP 1854, LII, Woodford, p. 919.

⁷ PP 1859, XXI (Part I), Wilson, p. 262.

To all the children entering the Community ... we guarantee the best physical and intellectual education that the present state of human knowledge affords.⁸

The above quotations express an ideal. It would be doubtful in the extreme to suggest that they described reality. Mechanics' Institutes, with their accent on self-improvement, and the Working Men's Colleges at Ayr and Prestwick⁹ were closer to actuality. So also was the demand by Edinburgh shop workers for half-holidays for "moral elevation".¹⁰ In the weaving village of Methven in Perthshire, Thomas Dick, a teacher at the Secession Church School there, propounded in the early years of the 19th century a potent mixture of science and Christianity in his proposals for organised adult education.¹¹ Middle class anxieties over the growth of pauperism, crime and drunkenness also formed attitudes towards education. The need for a work force educated enough to cope with simple industrial processes encouraged businessmen to urge the government to enforce at least basic literacy. The extension of the franchise demanded that the working class should imbibe no propaganda calculated to upset the existing social order.

A sanguine belief in the efficacy of education in reducing pauperism formed the thinking of the Poor Law Commissioners in 1845.

All means for suppressing pauperism will prove insufficient unless accompanied by some measures for promoting education. The evidence proves that instead of an improvement in this respect, there is rather a deterioration. This fact is accounted for partly by the children being employed in manufactures at a very early age, and partly by the diminished scale of wages. The commissioners are of the opinion

⁸ B. Simon: Studies in the History of Education, 1780-1870, (1969), p. 211.

⁹ Boyd, op. cit., pp. 158-9.

¹⁰ W.H. Marwick: Economic Development in Victorian Scotland (1936), p. 156.

¹¹ L.J. Saunders: Scottish Democracy 1815-40. (1950)

that one of the principal causes of pauperism in many parts of Scotland, particularly in the highlands and the large towns, is to be found in the imperfect education of the children of a large portion of the working classes.¹²

Even more optimistic was the hope that education had it in its power to extirpate not only pauperism, but also crime.

In Kilmarnock the more the money that is devoted to the proper, moral, and religious instruction of the children of the lower classes, the less is afterwards required for the support of jails and bridewells, hospitals and poorhouses.¹³

The same hopes founded the Industrial Schools described earlier by Woodford.

Evidence for the efficacy of education over social evils was adduced, with perhaps some partiality, by the Rev. Thomas Wilkinson, HMI of Episcopal Church schools. He cited

large and flourishing schools at Glasgow, Greenock, Airdrie, Coatbridge and Paisley, where in many cases drunkenness and profligacy have made way for sobriety and good conduct.¹⁴

Though the claim may be overstated, it serves to illustrate the close link in nineteenth century thinking between the growth of education and the diminution of social abuses.

Such an appeal would have less attraction for the business community. Their thinking was formed more by arguments to the effect that education makes a man a good workman. The Commissioners on Children's Employment included the following questions in their Enquiry:

- Question 7 Which class is the most regular and attentive to their daily employment?
- Question 8 Which class is the most valuable to the employer in regard to their general intelligence and skill as workmen?

¹² PP 1844, XXVI, Analytical Index to the Poor Law Inquiry (Scotland), p. 149.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ PP 1860, LIV, Wilkinson, p. 274.

Question 11 When from the fluctuations of fashion or other causes, the workpeople are thrown out of their accustomed employments, which class apply themselves with the greatest facility, and the least loss of time and labour, to other remunerating employments?¹⁵

The answers given in each case were that the best educated worker, the one educated in a good public or charity school was the one most ready to adapt and, incidentally, the least likely to go on strike. Over twenty years later, a pamphleteer wrote:

it is quite within the scope of school instruction that correct views [on strikes and combinations] shall be formed by the pupils in their school.¹⁶

Such teaching made, he believed, for workers who, far from being infected by the canker of socialism and class warfare

rejoice rather than complain that there are employers to be found able and willing to buy their labour.¹⁷

Clearly, such goals could not be achieved in conditions of child labour or of excessive hours of work which might retard the self-improvement process. It cannot be doubted that the urge towards self education existed within the working class. Mr. John Campbell, a student of theology and parochial missionary in Barony parish, Glasgow, told the Commissioners on Children's Employment:

The majority of children are quite neglected, and not sent to school till they have entered some public work and are beginning to earn some wages. The children then in some cases feel anxious to go to school, but many are then ashamed of letting their ignorance be known, and there are several instances ... of lads from sixteen to twenty upwards

¹⁵ PP 1843, XV, Children's Employment Commission. p. I/67.

¹⁶ W. Ellis: Combinations and Strikes from the teacher's point of view (London, 1865), p. 1.

¹⁷ Ibid, p. 5.

totally unable to read. Other children who are sent to school are removed very young (say from seven to eight years old) to be made draw-boys or teerers etc.. Even when attending, the children are not allowed to be regular, but taken away during school-hours to carry victuals to their parents etc., in public works.¹⁸

Chartist Education Clubs in Aberdeen, Greenock, Kilbarchan and Partick were an extreme manifestation of this working class desire for self-improvement.

No educational extension or improvement could take place, however, without the help of some external agency. Industrialisation and urbanisation had produced a society too complex to be influenced by mere local effort. People came to visit Owen's experiment in New Lanark; they stayed to admire, but left to do nothing. Philanthropic novelists like Dickens and Kingsley could write in doleful terms about the evils of child labour. Nothing could be done till the State decided to keep such abuses within severely defined limits. In 1842 the Mines Act eliminated many of the more glaring abuses, while 1847 saw the Ten Hours Act. The provision of Factory Inspectors, albeit grossly overworked,¹⁹ did ensure that legislative provisions were observed at least in part.

Factory Acts provided a possibility that children would be sent to school in the years before they were old enough to earn their own living. Public Health Acts and poor relief enabled more working class children to survive long enough to benefit from the education provided for them. Many different agencies offered education to the children of the working class. The churches, factory owners, combinations of parents, adventure schools, and landowners; all attempted to bring education within the reach of the

¹⁸ PP 1843 XV, Children's Employment Commission, p. i 77.

¹⁹ Marwick, op. cit., pp. 156 and 191.

children of Scotland. Standards at such schools varied widely. The State offered increasingly large sums of money to those schools which it considered provided efficient education.

The chief question which exercised educational thinkers in the 60's of the nineteenth century was that of efficient education. The State demanded a return on its investment. Some critics considered that education was all too efficient and feared the effect on the country of men who could, it was true, read the Bible, but could also read socialist tracts. Others worried about the effect of State-financed education on religious teaching. Some were anxious at the effects of what they believed was an English dominated educational ethos on a peculiarly Scottish institution like the parochial system. Others again complained of the increasing expense of education, the Code of 1864 notwithstanding. Educational thinking was in a turmoil. To this was added the pressures of society. 1868 saw the application of the Second Reform Act to Scotland, thus enfranchising, so contemporaries believed, the urban working class. Middle class fears rose again.

Anxiety over the enfranchisement of the working class was not new in the '60's. Again, education was regarded as something of a force for pacification, for indoctrination, even. A Roman Catholic inspector wrote

For that the children of the poor should possess more or less knowledge of grammar or geography is really, in itself, a matter of very little concern either to themselves or to the state; but that they should be so trained as to become hereafter lovers of justice, purity, patience, and industry, to be, in a word, good men and good citizens, - this is worthy of any expenditure, however costly, of any toil, however laborious.²⁰

²⁰ PP 1852-53, LXXX, Marshall, pp. 715-6.

Such an attitude was not confined to Roman Catholic inspectors of schools.

An inspector for Church of Scotland schools wrote

the habit of obeying the schoolmaster's rule prepares and forms the disposition to obey the rule that proceeds from any higher, even from the highest, source.²¹

Even the body which, by common consent, provided the best education before the 1872 Act, the Dick Bequest, was not without a canny regard for social tranquillity.

it is indeed no longer a matter of choice, but forced upon us as a necessity, to look with increased care to the instruction of those who receive their education in the Parish Schools. Endowed with the elective franchise, many of them will be called upon to exercise their minds upon question of state policy; and the press ... now diffuses its productions through channels so multiplied, leading to the very humblest readers, that the question is no longer, whether the people shall be informed - the great question is, how shall their minds be prepared and disposed, that they may be able to exercise a clear intelligence and sound judgment, to distinguish between good and evil, between truth and error, in whatever guise an appeal to their reason may be presented? ²²

No one motive determined middle class thinking on the desirability of extending and improving education for the working class. Basically, two contradictory strands went into their thinking on the subject. A third facet of middle class thinking on education was the desire to maintain what was specifically Scottish in the educational system - what Davie describes as the "democratic intellect". It was strongly felt that the educational way should still be clear for the "lad o' paints". No utilitarian argument, however logical, could counter this attractive myth. Urban living had made the achievement of this goal almost impossible, but many still felt that it was worth promoting. Probably this third facet of middle class thinking determined the inclusion in the 1872 Act of the sections on the promotion of secondary education.

²¹ PP 1857, Session 2, XXXIII, Gordon, p. 644.

²² Dick Bequest Report, 1854, p. 219.

The first may loosely be regarded as humanitarian - that education would be of use to the working class in lifting them from their present distress. Hence novelists like Dickens exposed the evils of nineteenth century life. Politicians like Shaftesbury provided the means whereby such abuses could be corrected. The churches and other bodies offered the working class child education, so that he could improve himself by lifting himself out of the class to which he had been born.

The second attitude was one of more, or less, enlightened self-interest. Education offered a means whereby the evils of pauperism and crime could be extirpated, or at least ameliorated. A child who had learned habits of application and hard work in achieving literacy was less likely to be a burden on the community either through the poor house or the jail. It was hoped further that an educated man would realise that the system which had so benevolently given him an education was one which should be preserved to hand on its benefits to future generations. Lastly, employers saw the advantage to be derived from work-people who could carry out simple processes and learn new ones when necessary. A further advantage of a literate workforce was that it had already been subjected to a disciplined environment in achieving literacy.

Working class thinking about education was not, at least in its interest in self-improvement, so very different from that of the middle class. The immediate motive might differ; the result was identical. It was no wonder that the middle class looked with favour upon such bodies as the Mechanics' Institutes. The desire for young adults for the literacy they had not achieved was similarly lauded. It was only for the Chartist Education Clubs that such middle class approval was lacking. Perhaps it was not so surprising that they had a limited life-span.

A final element in nineteenth century attitudes towards education was that provided by the State. As the century wore on, the various administrations had allowed themselves to be persuaded that a certain modicum of help for the education of the working class child was in its interests. The sum expended for this purpose rose very considerably and occasioned increasingly close scrutiny of the way its funds were used. The tidymindedness and rationalisation of the Victorian state turned to education. In Scotland, it did not like what it saw.

CHAPTER 1

SCOTTISH EDUCATION BETWEEN 1840 AND 1872

The suspension of the Revised Code, renewed from time to time over a period of four years, the Reports of the Royal Commissioners, the resolutions of numerous public meetings, and continued articles in all the public prints, have produced the almost universal impression that 'something must be done'.¹

The last years of the 1860's were not a peaceful time for Scottish education. The proverb about 'Too many cooks ...' was all too applicable. Various bodies complacently reckoned up the sums they had expended on the education of Scottish children. Between 1839, when grants first were paid in Scotland, and December 31st 1869, the Education Committee of the Privy Council had spent £5,496,555.17s.11d. In 1869 the amount expended had been £170,744.16s. 1d.² The Free Church calculated that it had spent over £600,000 on education since 1845.³ In 1867, the heritors and their tenants, who were responsible for the upkeep of the parochial schools, paid out £48,000 towards education.⁴ Money was not enough.

Admittedly, in the financial sense, the government could not be said to have neglected Scottish education. The problem lay in the fact that government money propped up a system, or rather, mixture of systems, that had become outmoded with the advent of the Industrial Revolution in Scotland. The same was true of the denominational schools. The parochial

¹ PP 1867-68, XXV, Woodford, p. 411.

² PP 1870, XXII, Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland. Figures calculated from Tables (hereafter Committee of Council)

³ Cited in A. Bain: Education in Stirlingshire (1965). p. 156.

⁴ A. Morgan: Rise and Progress of Scottish Education (1927). pp. 73-4.

schools of the Church of Scotland were adequate for compact, rural, Lowland parishes. After 1843,

The Free Church School, formed on the model of the Parish School, was intended to provide a sound education in English, and, at least, the rudiments of Latin, to the inhabitants of a district, without distinction of rich and poor.⁵

The term "system" is of course a portmanteau word. Very many different forms and ideals were present in Scottish education. The only point of agreement between critics and upholders of the "system" of Scottish education was that there was a distinctly Scottish flavour to it. Certainly, adaptation to the stresses of the Industrial Revolution was slow, and in some cases non-existent. The point at issue in the later 1860's and early 1870's was whether a real system of education on English lines was applicable in the Scottish context. As noted in the previous paragraph, the schools of the main dissenting Church were set up in the same tradition as the parochial schools. This was very different to the situation in England, where extreme division on a religious basis had led to the establishment of two distinct forms of education - Church of England and other voluntary schools independent of local finance, and a rate-financed state system. It led also to a rural/urban division, the former area being largely served by the independent Church schools, the latter having Board schools. Clearly this was not what occurred after 1872 in Scotland. The question is why. Chapter 2 will seek to examine the views of Scots on their education, and its future. This chapter will deal mainly with the situation in Scottish education between 1843 and 1872, and its problems and achievements.

Neither the Established or Free Church organisation of education could cope with the problems of the Highland area - in Sutherland, Farr parish

⁵ PP 1859, XXI, Part 1, Wilson, p. 262.

was twelve miles by forty miles⁶ - nor with the exigencies of swollen urban areas - Calton parish in Glasgow had a total population of 20,613 and a school population of 729.⁷ Despite this, the government offered aid only to recognised bodies which were incapable of distributing it effectively. This was not due to want of zeal, a lack of recognition of shortcomings, but due to basic organisational defects, which will be dealt with more fully later. That government efforts and those of other bodies had not materially improved the situation may be seen by comparing the figures given by the Rev. George Lewis in 1834 for Calton parish in Glasgow with those of the Argyll Commission in 1867. Lewis found the proportion of schoolchildren to population to be 1:26;⁸ the Commissioners found an improvement to 1:10.2⁹ (in attendance). However, in some ways the quality of schooling in some of the poorer schools had hardly changed at all. Lewis noted:

Even in Glasgow, disabled soldiers may be found teaching schools, as in the Highlands. The children are often crowded into an ill-aired and unwholesome garret, or small room.¹⁰

Thirty years later the Commissioners said this of one school they visited:

It is kept by a worthy man, who unites with the duty of schoolmaster that of letter-carrier, etc.. The schoolroom, which is capable of holding fifty children, is a dull, mouldy-smelling, badly-aired place.¹¹

Things had not really changed for the better after thirty years of voluntary effort, leavened by the financial help of the government.

⁶ New Statistical Account (hereafter NSA), Vol. XV (1845), p. 73.

⁷ G. Lewis: Scotland, a half-educated nation, Glasgow (1834), p. 39.

⁸ Ibid., p. 39.

⁹ PP 1867, XXV, Part II. Second Report by Her Majesty's Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Schools in Scotland, Glasgow, p. 26.
The Argyll Commission - hereafter Arg. Com.

¹⁰ Lewis, op. cit., p. 41.

¹¹ Arg. Com. Glasgow, p. 32.

Why were such efforts so unsuccessful? There was no lack of goodwill for the introduction of an efficient method of national elementary working class education. Motives differed widely. George Combe took a strictly utilitarian view of the need for an educated working class:

I lately conversed with an engineer and machine-maker who employs 120 workmen, and he told me that he had repeatedly taken into his own workshop uneducated and untrained labourers with a view to teaching them some simple processes in his trade, but had found that the lesson of yesterday was not retained in the mind till today, and that their labour, in consequence, was without value in any department of skilled art.¹²

The Poor Law Commissioners took a similar view in 1844:

All means for suppressing pauperism will prove insufficient unless accompanied by some measures for promoting education ... The commissioners are of the opinion that one of the principal causes of pauperism in many parts of Scotland, particularly in the Highlands and large towns, is to be found in the imperfect education of the children of a large portion of the working classes.¹³

Education was also valued as a means of social control. In 1839 Dr.

James Kay-Shuttleworth remarked:

It is astonishing to us that the party calling themselves Conservative should not lead the van in promoting the diffusion of that knowledge among the working classes which tends beyond anything else to promote the security of property and the maintenance of public order.¹⁴

Even George Lewis, who was intelligent enough to realise that:

To be able to read and to be able to understand what is read, are very different things,¹⁵

argued his case in accordance with the best principles of political economy when he suggested that the expense of schools should be set against the

¹² George Combe: Remarks on National Education, Edinburgh (1847), p. 5.

¹³ PP 1844, XXVI, Report from Her Majesty's Commissioners for enquiry into the administration and practical operation of the Poor Laws in Scotland. p. 149.

¹⁴ Cited in B. Simon: Studies in the History of Education, 1780-1870 (1969) p. 338.

¹⁵ Lewis, op. cit., p. 29.

result of such expenditure - less crime.¹⁶ It was not enough for the State to spend money on education; some sort of agreed goal had to be present. But the organisation of Scottish education precluded the realisation of this ideal.

Three main groups were concerned in the organisation of education at this time - the churches, private endeavour, and the various efforts of the government. To make matters more complicated, there were considerable differences of approach even within these groups, especially where the churches were concerned. There was one final group which, though under the Home and not the Education Department,¹⁷ provided for the education of the most destitute Scottish children. These were catered for by the industrial and ragged schools. It will be convenient in this study to deal with the main fields of endeavour under separate sections.

Section I. The Churches and Scottish Education.

Ecclesiastical interest in the education of the majority of young Scots dated back to the Reformation, when the ability to read the Scriptures was regarded by the Reformers as the first step towards a "godly" life. The need to "win" the privilege of Communion helped to emphasise this attitude.¹⁸ Knox and his adherents believed that education should be in the hands of those best fitted to fulfil the responsibility of nurturing a "godly" life;

Off necissitie thairfore we judge it that everie severall Church have a Schoolmaister appointed, suche a one as is able at least to teache Grammar and the Latine tounge, if the Toun be of any reputation. Yf it be Upaland whaire the people convene to doctrine but once in the weeke, then must eathir the Reidar or the Minister thair appointed take cayre over the children and youth of the parische to instruct them in thair first rudiments and especiallie in the Catechisme.¹⁹

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 76.

¹⁷ Code of 1860, para. 232 c, PP. 1869, LIII.

¹⁸ W. Boyd: Education in Ayrshire through Seven Centuries (1961), p. 10.

¹⁹ Ibid., Cited from John Knox: The History of the Reformation in Scotland, Vol.II, p. 209, seq..

It was unfortunate that the first zeal of the Reformers was halted by the steadfast refusal of those who had come into possession of church lands to allow part of their new property to be taken from them and used to endow education. Despite this, various Acts of the seventeenth and eighteenth century Parliaments sought to fulfil Knox's ideal of a school in every parish. The Act of 1803 was only one in a long series, its purpose being to improve the financial status of schoolmasters who had, with their fixed salaries, fallen behind in the inflation of the late eighteenth century.

Hence it was no precedent that the government should offer a building grant for new schools in 1833 and tie to this the condition that only recognised bodies, in this case the Church of Scotland, should administer them. The main reason for the restriction of the government grant to recognised bodies was an attempt to maintain some oversight of the monies so disbursed. This was in keeping with the general growth of central control in the nineteenth century. For example, as was mentioned in the Introduction, the Public Health Acts were at first enabling, then became mandatory. Tied to central control of money came the beginnings of governmental oversight of teaching methods, leading ultimately, over three decades, to a control over what was taught.

Certainly, the introduction of government inspection of schools in 1840 was novel in Scotland. The ostensible motive was:

to convey to conductors and teachers of private schools in different parts of the country a knowledge of all improvements in the art of teaching, and likewise to report to this Committee the progress made in education from year to year.²⁰

There had always been Presbytery inspection of schools, but as time passed, this became more and more of a formality, and there was a need to see that

²⁰ MS Minutes of Committee in Council, Vol.I, pp. 6-7, Cited in T.R. Bone: School Inspection in Scotland 1840-1966. (1968), p. 17.

schools were brought up to an efficient national standard. The 1872 examination of Inverkip Parochial School could not by any stretch of the imagination be called educationally searching:

The Parochial School of this parish was examined on Tuesday afternoon by the Rev. Mr. M'Quistan, the Rev. Mr. Linten, chaplain to Sir M.R.S. Stewart, and Dr. Tough also being present. The scholars in the various classes, numbering over 100, acquitted themselves creditably, and the more proficient were rewarded by handsome prizes. Miss Shaw Stewart presented several presents from Lady Octavia for the best specimens of needlework. She also, on her behalf, presented a handsome workbox to Miss Ellen M'Kell, Cloch Lighthouse, for the best essay on Scotch history.²¹

The examination of Kelvinhaugh Sessional School in 1868 by HMI of Schools Mr. Gordon was presumably much more rigorous:

The Standard Examinations give less than one per cent failures. In the extra subjects, Bible, Catechism, and Geography the progress is equally satisfactory.²²

At first there was a certain amount of opposition to inspection, but the fact that this was largely carried out by inspectors of the same denomination as the schools they visited served to conciliate opinion. In some ways, this concession to denominational sensibilities can be regarded as the thin end of the wedge. After 1872, with the practice of government inspection firmly established over thirty years, denominational inspection was allowed to lapse. The latter was felt to be both inefficient on the travelling time involved, and expensive. There were, of course, some diehards - the Minister of Smailholm refused to allow government inspection of the parish school, although such inspection would have meant extra funds for the school, since the schoolmaster held a Certificate of Merit.²³ Generally

²¹ North British Daily Mail (hereafter NBDM), 7/3/72.

²² Glasgow City Archives (hereafter GCA) Kelvinhaugh Sessional School (Glasgow) Log-book. 14/2/1868.

²³ Scottish Record Office (hereafter SRO) Lord Advocate's Papers (hereafter LAP), Box 18, Bundle 2, letter, 25/2/1871.

there was little such prejudice. The carrot and stick approach to the Smailholm situation is typical of the way in which the centralising unifying spirit of nineteenth century government functioned. There was no overt compulsion, but the financial consequences of independence were spelt out - no inspection, no grant. The lesson was learnt well in Scotland. In 1869, schools run by, or connected with, the Church of Scotland received £54,119.6s.11d. from government sources, as compared with £40,076.10s.10d. received by all the other schools together.²⁴ However, financial exigencies were not always the motive behind the acceptance of government inspection. The visit of the HMI could be a very stimulating experience for a teacher isolated by distance, or a heavy teaching load, from the society of his colleagues. A number of schools were prepared to submit to 'simple inspection', which as Bone says²⁵ was designed to discover how best the government could provide additional means of education.

Clearly, the Established Church was responsible for a large proportion of the education in Scotland aided by the Privy Council. Indeed, up to 1843, the Church could take credit for the relatively satisfactory state of education. While there were some very wide gaps in the educational provision up to 1840, the Church of Scotland had tried to fill in the worst of these. There were two deficient areas - the Highlands and Islands, and the growing towns. The deficiencies of educational provision in the urban areas will be discussed later. In the Highlands the sheer area of parishes - Crieich was thirty-five miles by seven or eight miles and had only 525 families²⁶ - made a farce of the legal provision of one school for each parish.

²⁴ PP 1870, XXII, Committee of Council, pp. lxxviii and lxxxi.

²⁵ Bone, op. cit., p. 28.

²⁶ NSA, Vol. XV (1845), Sutherland, Sept. 1834.

The Society in Scotland for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge was one answer to the problem. The Society provided additional schools in isolated areas of the Highlands and Islands, though there were one or two such schools in Edinburgh and in Yetholm in the Borders.²⁷ Officially, the SSPCK was a private body, licensed by the Crown and non-denominational, but, as its reports suggested, very few who were not members of the Church of Scotland were appointed as teachers. In 1866 John C. Crain, a male candidate for a post, was debarred: "Not eligible, a Dissenter."²⁸ On the other hand, though the Established Church effectively controlled the SSPCK, its contributions to its efforts were meagre in the extreme. As a result the resources of the Society were too small for its responsibilities. In 1871, Simon S. Laurie, appointed as Inspector of SSPCK schools cautiously noted:

It will generally be found that the most remunerative schools are taught by the most efficient teachers.²⁹

If this was the criterion, then the SSPCK made a very poor showing - the Argyll Commissioners showed that the Society was near the bottom of the salary scale:³⁰ male teachers with the Society got £20 a year as compared with £35 for parish schools, £30-34 for Parliamentary schools and £25 for General Assembly schools.

Apart from the low salaries, SSPCK schools were deficient in buildings - only five of its seventeen Hebridean schools had slated roofs at the time of the Argyll Commission. In general, the Commissioners were not impressed by the Society's schools:

²⁷ SRO GD 95/9/9 Report of SSPCK Schools, 1867-8, volume 1.

²⁸ SRO GD 95/9/9 SSPCK Roll of Candidates. Eleanor B. Reid (Candidate No. 74), of Orkney was disqualified because she was a Morrisonian.

²⁹ SRO GD 95/9/11 S.S.Laurie to Directors of SSPCK, Oct. 1871, pp.6-7.

³⁰ Arg.Com. H[ighlands] and I[slands] pp. 74-93.

As a class, they certainly appear to be inferior to any others that I have to speak of, in respect not merely of a certain rusticity of character in their whole equipment and style of teaching, but of a more than usual want of life and discipline.³¹

While the SSPCK may have plugged a few of the more obvious gaps in accommodation, the standard of teaching was woefully low. Much the same could be said for the various Gaelic Society Schools. They had done good work in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, not the least of their contributions being the teaching of Highland children in their native tongue. However, by 1841, the main Gaelic school societies - the Inverness, Glasgow and Edinburgh - were all but extinct. Day suggests^{31a} that the low state of their funds resulted from calls made upon them during the destitution in the North of 1836 and 1837, when bad harvests and poor fishing brought these people near to starvation. Not having even the meagre, but regular, aid that the SSPCK had, the Gaelic Schools Societies could not recover.

Not all Established Church effort was as fruitless. In 1824, a permanent Committee of the General Assembly on Education was set up. This body dealt at first with the Highlands and Islands, and was prompted by the Returns to the General Assembly showing that about 250 additional schools were required in this area.³² In 1839, this scheme was extended to cover the whole country.³³ Finance came from a general fund derived from Church collections and there was no fixed endowment. However, the management of the Committee assured to schools within the scheme a certain minimum of aid -

³¹ Arg. Com. H and I, p. 83.

^{31a} J.P.Day: Public Administration in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland (1918), p. 147.

³² J. Scotland: History of Scottish Education (1969), Vol.I, p. 242.

³³ Bone, op. cit., p. 134.

usually a house and croft from the heritors and from £5 - £25 from the General Assembly.³⁴ Aid also came from the Privy Council and this meant that inspection was compulsory and that teachers were expected to be certificated.

A reasonable educational standard was reached by these schools:

The teaching, as usual, was unequal. In four or five of the schools it was quite up to the average reaching in a parish school, and in two of these instances above it. But in none of the schools was it so high as in the best parish schools, and in none was it nearly so low as in the worst. It is worthy of observation, in regard to the General Assembly schools, when the tenure is temporary, that there was no appearance of indolence manifested in them, and no incompetency, such as still prevails in some schools under the parochial tenure.³⁵

It can be argued that the Commissioners have set their sights rather low.

They seem to have accepted a reasonably efficient mediocrity as satisfactory.

Be that as it may, however, the crux of the above quotation is the matter of tenure and the necessity for government inspection. The standard achieved seems to bear out the criticisms made of the New Code - that it promoted a somewhat lifeless, though standardised, type of teaching. The main flaw that the Commissioners found was overcrowding - there was accommodation for 1,911 pupils in the twenty-six schools examined, but there were 2,081 on the roll. This, however, was mitigated by an attendance of only 1,654.³⁶

A further supplement to rural education was provided by the Side schools of the Church of Scotland. As their name suggested, these were mainly schools which were subordinate to the main effort of the parochial school system. These schools were founded to meet the educational needs of extensive parishes with a small and scattered population. They accounted for the education of only 3.2% of children on the roll* and appeared to be rather

³⁴ Arg.Com. H and I, p. 69.

³⁵ Arg.Com. H and I, p. 70.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 70.

* Arg. Com. Table II. See also Appendix, Table 1.

inefficient. The Argyll Commission laid the blame for this on the Act of 1803:

The exemption of the heritors by the Act of GEO III, cap.54 from the obligation of providing buildings for more than one parish school, and the uncertainty of the provision with regard to repairs, have operated most prejudicially for the interests of education.³⁷

A further provision of the same Act, allowing the heritors to divide the school stent between several schools meant that an already moderate sum was so subdivided that even the parochial school itself was harmed. The situation in Kilmichael-Glassary illustrated this:

the school-stent is £52, divided among three schools, the principal parish school getting £26, and the two other schools £13 each.³⁸

Despite such drawbacks, the provision of Side schools did fill some gaps in the parochial system and ensured that some children in the more remote areas of a parish received at least a rudimentary education. Generally, the Commissioners were not impressed by the Side schools. Most, not meeting the minimum salary of £30 laid down in the Codes, were ineligible for grants, and, being isolated, were not easily visited by HMI's, even for the purposes of simple inspection. Thus, once again the main flaw in pre-1872 governmental aid to education was exposed. The most needy areas could not raise the requisite sum of money needed before the government could offer financial aid to local education.

It was in the urban areas that the efforts of the Church of Scotland in the field of education were most open to criticism. The main explanation for this failure can be found in the anomalous position of the parochial school in the expanding towns and cities. According to the NSA, the parochial schoolmaster in Kilmarnock was head of the Classics department of the

³⁷ Ibid., p. 76.

³⁸ Arg.Com. H and I p. 77.

Academy.³⁹ As a result, one of the best schools in the city was lost to working class education, for the government recognised the middle class nature of such establishments and made them ineligible for any grants.⁴⁰ The same had happened to the High Schools of Edinburgh and Glasgow. If, however, we leave aside the problems of the burgh schools, there was in any case an intolerable pressure on school places of any kind in town and city in Scotland.

Galashiels was a case in point illustrating the shortage of urban school places. There the population was estimated to be about 4,000, but the parochial school had accommodation for only 95. 220 children were in attendance at this school and the heritors refused to finance a new building even though the inhabitants of the area raised £290 towards the cost.⁴¹

One answer by the Established Church was to encourage the erection of Sessional schools, which, as their name suggested, were under the control of the Kirk Sessions. Superficially, these schools appeared to be the solution to the increasing problems faced by the church in contacting parishioners in a growing urban area. Most of these schools were under Government inspection and the Argyll Commissioners were usually favourably impressed. Their efficacy in providing elementary education for the ordinary working-class child, was, however, open to doubt. Two comments by the Commissioners illustrate this point. The masters of these schools hoped:

to have their schools both elementary and intermediate -
i.e. preparatory for a burgh school or a university.⁴²

³⁹ NSA, Vol. V (1845), March 1839.

⁴⁰ Boyd, op. cit., p. 150.

⁴¹ Arg.Com. Lowland Country districts, p. 63 (hereafter Rural). Of course, Galashiels was somewhat exceptional in its municipal organisation. As L.J. Saunders noted in his book Scottish Democracy (1950), p. 151, it was still a feudal burgh, its sole bailie being appointed by Pringle of Torwoodlea. This made it extremely difficult for the local people to put any sort of pressure on the heritors.

⁴² Arg.Com. Glasgow, p. 7.

The social origins of the children suggested that these ambitions were satisfied:

The children attending the schools represent the well-to-do classes of the district, shopkeepers, highly paid operatives, etc.⁴³

For the children of the poorer sections of the working class the provision of the Established Church was not so satisfactory. Though there were fifteen Charity schools in Glasgow (not all belonged to the Church of Scotland), the Commissioners noted:

The class of children at the charity schools is certainly not the poorest and most destitute. They are mostly the children of respectable working people.⁴⁴

The children of the poor, if they got any schooling at all, generally got it at the mission schools or the adventure schools; the Established Church was concerned with neither. Indeed, it appears that the poorest section of the urban population was largely neglected educationally by the Church of Scotland.

Be that as it may, apologists for the efforts of the Established Church were always willing to draw notice proudly to the Lowland parochial schools and claim that in these schools lay the Church's chief claim to educational fame. The state of schools in the Dick Bequest area - Aberdeenshire, Banff and Moray - was particularly good. On the other hand, it should not be forgotten that this relative excellence was the result of the distribution of £4,344.13s.9d. per annum among the 134 schools in the scheme.^{44a} The extra income attracted to the parish schools better qualified teachers who tended, because of a reasonable income, to remain longer in one school.

⁴³ Arg.Com. Glasgow, p. 7.

⁴⁴ Arg.Com. Glasgow. p.91. One of the last Charity Schools to be taken over by the School Board in 1886 was Alexander's. J.M. Roxburgh notes in his book The School Board of Glasgow (1971) on p. 65, that there were unpleasant scenes at the official opening of this school under the Board, as the parents were angry that they were now expected to pay fees.

^{44a} Arg.Com. Rural, p. 139.

The requirements for the award were rigorous. The Dick Bequest candidate was expected to sit a stiff preliminary examination, including papers in Latin and Greek, and was granted a share in the Bequest according to the efficiency of his teaching which was re-assessed each year. The Argyll Commissioners believed that the Dick Bequest was generally:

of great service to the cause of education in this country.⁴⁵

On the other hand, as the Rev. John Black, HMI of Church of Scotland schools noted, the Bequest's concentration on the higher subjects could have an adverse effect on the more elementary branches of education:

There are even yet schools, in which the junior classes get two or three lessons per day, of 10 or 15 minutes each, and during the remaining five hours or so of school-time, are compelled, by the terror of the 'tawse' or the 'corner' to sit with eyes steadily fixed on their books, under pretence of learning the next lesson, which at their age is an impossibility. This exquisite device for clouding the sunshine of early childhood has left nowhere more distinct traces of its existence than in the north-eastern counties.⁴⁶

The other parochial schools in the country were less well-endowed and more subject to the whims of the local heritors. The 1861 Act had increased the salaries of schoolmasters to between £30-£70 per annum and had taken away some of the powers of the Presbyteries. Schoolmasters were to be examined and approved by the University Courts and were merely required to teach nothing contrary to the Presbyterian doctrine, instead of having to sign the Confession of Faith and Formula of the Church of Scotland. Despite this, the Argyll Commissioners on education in country districts reported:

that though the parochial schools have been open for four years to teachers of all denominations, there was only one teacher in the 164 parochial, side, and heritors' girls' schools visited by us, who did not belong to the Established Church.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Arg.Com. Rural, p. 142.

⁴⁶ PP 1866 XXVII, Black, p. 287.

⁴⁷ Arg.Com. Rural, p. 45.

Perhaps this was not surprising, since the finance of parochial schools remained firmly in the hands of the heritors.

Some heritors were extremely conscientious in fulfilling their obligations. Those at Dalry in Ayrshire, which had grown from a population of 4,791 in 1841 to one of about 12,000 in 1867, had erected a new parish school, while the Kirk Session had provided four new schools in needy districts of the parish.⁴⁸ On the other hand, the minister, Mr. Stevenson, appeared to have initiated this effort - the Commissioners referred to his "benevolent despotism".⁴⁹ The ideal combination for the educational good of a parish (though not perhaps for its democratic health) was probably a forceful minister, interested in education, and a group of complacent heritors, probably non-resident, who were perfectly happy to leave the organisation of the parochial school to those who were really interested. The picture that emerges from this is not a democratic one; but then, before 1872 (and even after), this was not a great issue in educational organisation.

In general, the Commissioners believed that the parishes with the fewest heritors had the best school buildings.⁵⁰ They added that government inspection did much to improve the standard of parish school building and pointed out that:

the threat of withdrawal [of the government grant] has, in the parish schools at least, the effect of leading even the most illiberal of the managers to a sense of the necessity of doing something to the buildings to bring them within the requirements of the Privy Council.⁵¹

⁴⁸ Arg.Com. Rural, p. 47.

⁴⁹ Arg.Com. Rural, p. 47.

⁵⁰ Arg.Com. Rural, p. 61. Those with many small heritors were generally reluctant to accept further financial responsibilities than they were legally liable for. A majority of these small men usually voted against any change which meant an increase in the school stent.

⁵¹ Arg.Com. Rural, p. 61.

Not all the heritors were suitably overawed by this threat - those at Galashiels have been mentioned before.

Others refused to open their schools to inspection, encouraged, perhaps, by the attitudes of some parents. As late as 1868, John Hall, HMI for the West of Scotland reported:

I have known the wife of a comfortable farmer, herself apparently well educated, send a note to the teacher on the day of my visit to his school, stating that she kept her boys from school that day, as she did not approve of making them the means of procuring or helping to procure the Government grant.⁵²

Occasionally, a parochial teacher was qualified to receive a government grant but was unable to do so because his parish minister refused, on a point of principle, to allow Government inspection. The example of Thomas Wood of Smailholm has already been quoted. But such cases were rare. The heritors were fully conscious of the benefits that inspection brought and some schools that received no government grant opened their doors to the HMI. There were at least forty-three cases of "simple inspection" as late as 1871.⁵³

The Argyll Commissioners concluded that:

the teaching in the parochial schools is unequal, but on the whole not below mediocrity. Great improvement might be made in many of the schools, and a more uniform standard of efficiency attained, if all were under Government inspection.⁵⁴

⁵² PP 1868-9 XX, Hall, p. 349.

⁵³ PP 1872 XXII, HMI Reports. There were other reasons for simple inspection. T.R. Bone notes a number of them in his book School Inspection in Scotland, p.44. They are mainly financial: the legal minimum salary paid by the heritors was not sufficient to earn an augmentation grant; the legal requirements for a house were below the Code standard; schoolmasters could not take on pupil teaching if they held other posts, like Inspector of Poor. Finally, older and experienced teachers did not care to compete with younger men for certification.

⁵⁴ Arg.Com. Rural, p. 68.

The record of the parish schools was not particularly glowing, but it was considered adequate by the standards of the time. The problem facing Scottish education was defining the standards of the time. Conservatives of all hues pointed to the past glories of Scottish education - its "democratic" nature and the possibility it offered of education preparatory for university. Central government desired the best return on money spent; a goal at least partially achieved by fixing standards and prodding Scottish education ~~into~~ some conformity with these. Some uniformity certainly emerged, but judging by remarks made by Argyll Commissioners like Sellar and Maxwell the ideal was uniformity - even if it meant a form of mediocrity - schools neither particularly bad nor especially good.

In 1843, the Church of Scotland lost its near monopoly of spiritual matters in Scotland. The same applied to the field of education. Dissenting churches, and particularly the Free Church, claimed an ever-increasing share in Scottish education. Free Church schools were set up because, as Dr. James Cumming, HMI of schools not connected with the Church of Scotland put it:

they saw multitudes of the parochial teachers expelled from their charges, without any impeachment either of their professional qualifications, or of their moral or religious character.⁵⁵

Because the Free Church set up their schools primarily to provide for ousted teachers of their own communion, there was little necessity to make these schools into nurseries of the faith. Indeed, there was no real doctrinal difference with the Established Church. Both Free and Established Church schoolmasters taught their pupils the same Catechism. Hence there was no moral or religious need, from the Free Church viewpoint, to set up a school

⁵⁵ PP 1856 XLVII, Cumming, pp. 596-7.

in every parish in order to compete with the Established Church for the souls of local children. Schools were set up in the first instance, as Cumming says, to provide employment for those teachers expelled from their posts by what they regarded as Church of Scotland prejudice. Later, schools were set up in localities where there appeared to be an educational need.

Generally speaking, this did not lead to wasteful duplication, though the Argyll Commissioners on country districts did note five instances of what they considered was unnecessary duplication - at Temple in Midlothian, Gargunnoch, Gatehouse, Dornoch and Auchterarder.⁵⁶ In the urban areas and in the Highlands and Islands there was less risk of duplication. The Commissioners remarked of the National Parochial system:

in the Highland parishes its effects are necessarily restricted and counteracted by the nature of the country, and the vast area of the parishes; In the Cities and large Towns the National Parochial system has no operation at all.⁵⁷

Free Church schools were a positive advantage in such areas. The system was organised on the same lines as that of the Established Church and was subject to the same criticisms. Urban Sessional schools of the Free Kirk like those of the Established Church, attracted the same class of pupils. The Argyll Commission found:

that the actual work done by the Free Church schools was quite as high as that done by the average parochial schools. Indeed, if our estimates are correct, they show that while in the parochial schools proper the teaching is very good, good, and fair in 80% of the schools examined, and indifferent and bad in 20%, and if the side and heritors' girls be included, the proportion falls on the one hand to 78%, and on the other rises to 22%, while in the Free Church schools, the teaching is very good, good, and fair, in 86% and indifferent and bad in 14% ...

⁵⁶ Arg.Com. Rural, pp. 120-122.

⁵⁷ Arg. Com. p. xx.

In the same manner with reference to the school buildings: 80% of the chief-parochial schools are good and fair, and 20% indifferent and bad; but if the whole parochial system be taken, only 77% can be considered in the first classes, and 23% in the second, while 80% of Free Church school buildings are good and fair, and 20% indifferent and bad.⁵⁸

There were a number of reasons for the relative excellence of Free Church schools. Although their endowments could hardly parallel those of the Established Church, zealous congregational backing made up much of the difference. Free Church buildings were newer, and probably better. Furthermore they were not prejudiced to the same extent in the matter of government aid with its condition of compulsory inspection. This may be deduced from the HMI Report on Schools for 1868-9 and the Argyll Commission.⁵⁹

	Total Schools	Schools Inspected	% Inspected
Church of Scotland	1625	607	37.35
Free Church of Scotland	617	357	57.86

Extensive use of government building and augmentation grants was made by the Free Kirk, thus encouraging greater use of trained teachers. In a sense, the Free Church teacher had a head start on the Established Church teacher when it came to the matter of government grant. The former generally held no other post, like Inspector of Poor, which debarred him from taking on a pupil teacher. The government grant for pupil teachers attracted young people into the profession, from which, once trained, the Free Church schools could draw. The lack of endowment meant that congregations were responsible for almost the entire salary of their teacher, and, not to be outdone by the

⁵⁸ Arg.Com. Rural, p. 74.

⁵⁹ PP 1868-9, XX.
Arg.Com. p. 24. See also Table 1, Appendix.

the Established Church, most congregational boards provided a sufficient sum to meet government requirements for grant. Finally, since schoolhouses had to be provided in any case, it was simple to meet the higher standard required by the government. Understandably, the Established Church heritors who had earlier provided houses for their schoolmasters, were reluctant to add the extra rooms necessary to improve the schoolhouse according to government requirements.

Greater efficiency also resulted from the less secure tenure of Free Church teachers. While this may seem paradoxical, it will be remembered that the Argyll Commissioners had said much the same thing about teaching in the General Assembly schools. The Argyll Commissioners heard of Established Church schools :

of not a few [cases] where the teachers gave up teaching altogether, but still retained their position, and drew their salaries. In these cases, they retain their house and garden, and legal status, and advertise for an assistant to do their duty at a fixed salary. They themselves pocket the legal salary and fees, and thus, in the full vigour of life, they may retire with a free house and garden, and, if the fees are well paid, sometimes more than the full salary.⁶⁰

No such abuse was possible in the Free Church schools. Teachers there had no *ad vitam* aut *culpam* tenure. They had to satisfy their congregational board, or they could face dismissal. In addition, since many Free Church Schools were annually inspected, in order to earn a grant the teacher had to reach at least mediocrity. One who could not achieve this would stand condemned, by an independent witness, in the eyes of his congregational board.

Like the schools of the Established Church, Free Church education had by the mid '60's attained a fairly satisfactory standard. But it was

⁶⁰ Arg.Com. Rural, p. 56.

at great financial cost. One of the main reasons for Free Kirk support of the various Education Bills of the '60's was the tremendous burden laid on the congregations for the support of non-endowed education. It all seemed a bit pointless to the Free Kirk by the mid '60's. Except in the Highlands:

the situation of the school and the merits of the teacher weigh much more in determining the school which children attend in Scotland than religious differences.⁶¹

Even in Ross, Sutherland and Caithness, the Highland strongholds of the Free Kirk, Sellar and Maxwell found that sectarian rancour was diminishing.⁶²

Other Dissenting groups participated to some extent in education. The United Presbyterian Church did some very good work in the urban areas, a facet of Scottish education that has been largely ignored because of UP disdain for State aid. While it is true that their total of schools was very small - forty-five, educating 0.9% of those on the roll*⁶³ - the Argyll Commission was impressed by the number of destitute children they educated.

It is their characteristic [the Mission schools] that they rather seek out than avoid the poorest localities, - their object being to afford the means of education at the very lowest rate to children who might otherwise be entirely destitute. The school fees are mostly 1d or 2d a week, paid weekly, but many children are taught gratuitously ... With one exception, we found these schools doing useful work. The exception was, however, hardly a mission school, properly so called.⁶⁴

Not all such schools were so well organised as those in Central district in Glasgow. The Commissioners found one in Thistle Street in Hutchesontown where the managers no longer paid any salary to the teacher and where,

⁶¹ Arg.Com. p. xx.

⁶² Ibid., Rural, p. 23.

⁶³ * All starred figures from Arg.Com. p. 24, Table II. See also in Appendix, Table 1.

⁶⁴ Arg.Com. Glasgow, p. 8.

He had given certificates to children about to enter printfields, who could not read the two-penny book, but they had been at school for the statutory period ... He had been asked, and had given great offence for refusing, to give certificates of attendance to children who had not attended school.⁶⁵

UP schools, like those of other churches, seem to have been unequal in their standards.

The non-Presbyterian churches did not neglect their duty to those of their communion. The Episcopalian Church in Scotland, with seventy-four schools, educating 1.9% of those on the roll* concentrated its efforts on the most elementary level partly because of lack of funds and partly, perhaps, in keeping with the English emphasis on schools for the children of the labouring poor. Fees were very moderate - 1d per week according to the Argyll Commissioners on country areas.⁶⁶ The same low level of fees operated also in Glasgow, as the Argyll Commissioners discovered, and had a similar effect in attracting non-Episcopalian children. Because of the low income that could be gained from fees, the Commissioners found that even in Milton, a relatively prosperous parish in Glasgow, the teachers were in favour of the grant-earning possibilities of the Revised Code.⁶⁷ Clearly, there were good financial reasons for this approval of the Revised Code; it was not merely the result of an English-dominated ethos in the Episcopalian Church. If further proof of this were necessary, we need only look at the number of non-Episcopalian children - 4,273 out of 6,202* - at such schools. In general, the managers did not insist on the Anglican Catechism for non-Episcopalian children,⁶⁸ though at one school at Brook Street in Glasgow,⁶⁹

⁶⁵ Arg.Com. Glasgow, p. 64.

⁶⁶ Arg.Com. Rural, p. 77.

⁶⁷ Ibid., Glasgow, p. 50.

⁶⁸ Arg.Com. Rural, p. 77.

⁶⁹ Arg.Com. Glasgow, p. 22.

* See Appendix, Table 1.

the Episcopalian Catechism was compulsory. At the Dobbie's Loan school, on the other hand, any child wishing exemption was freely allowed to miss the Catechism classes.⁷⁰

Like the Episcopalians, the Roman Catholic Church made a great effort to provide schools for those of their communion. They were hampered because most of those for whom they had to provide, the Irish Catholic immigrants, held the worst-paid jobs. Hence in addition to constant problems of finance, there were further difficulties - children worked to supplement the family income. By 1867, the Roman Catholics had 61 schools, catering for 1.8% of children enrolled.* However, only 5,229 children out of a total of 12,572 belonging to the Roman Catholic communion were at a school of their own denomination.* What education there was, was of a high standard. The Argyll Commissioners had a very high opinion of the official Roman Catholic effort in Glasgow - they were less complimentary about adventure schools run by Catholics, though these criticisms applied equally to all adventure schools. Where the official effort was concerned, the Commissioners remarked on the good quality of school accommodation and were impressed by

the good manners and respectful tone of the children
and found that

the teaching of the elementary branches is most
creditable.⁷¹

The greatest difficulties faced by Catholic educationalists were the poverty of the people and the ignorance of the parents, many of whom could not read.⁷² It was not surprising that children were taken from school as early as possible and set to work. At the same time a determined effort was made by the Church

⁷⁰ Arg.Com. Glasgow, p. 50.

⁷¹ Arg.Com. Glasgow, p. 81.

⁷² Arg.Com. Glasgow, p. 158.

* Arg.Com. p. 24, Table II. See also Appendix, Table 1.

to root out ignorance. Rev. H. Thomson told the Commissioners:

Our school fees from boys and girls, day-school and night-school, do not exceed £80 a year; and our schools cost us nearly three times that sum.⁷³

It was not for want of effort on the part of his Church that the Roman Catholic child remained untaught.

By 1872, a substantial proportion of Scottish children were receiving some sort of education from the various ecclesiastical denominations of the country. The quality of education varied widely between churches and also within each church. External economic conditions in various areas seem to have counted just as much as who organised it, in the kind of education that children received. Urban educationalists had to deal with the problems of a rootless immigrant mass (from the surrounding Scottish rural districts as well as from Ireland) often indifferent, if not positively hostile, to the value of education. Children from eight years and upward could provide valuable supplements to family income from their earnings. Urban areas were rich, but this wealth was generally not distributed with an eye to educational provision for the poorest members of society. Problems also beset rural education. Here the population was settled, but often desperately poor. Again, children could make a positive contribution to the domestic economy by their labour on farm, croft, or fishing boat. Parishes that were enormous in area in relation to their small scattered population made an educational nonsense of the Knoxian ideal of a school in every parish. No matter who organised education in the Highlands and Islands and in the large cities, such education was generally inferior to that offered in the Lowland country areas. Two comments of the Commissioners bear this out:

⁷³ Arg.Com. Glasgow, p. 159.

Notwithstanding the great and praiseworthy efforts to extend the benefits of education in this district [the Hebrides] that have been made by the benevolent societies and individuals, the adult population, and especially the women, are still, to an extent not generally known, unable to read or write.⁷⁴

Secondly:

the voluntary system has proved utterly inadequate to effect the education of the masses of the population congregated in large towns.⁷⁵

A complicating factor in the question as to who provided the best education lay in the fact that the classes in society at which the various churches aimed their educational effort were not identical. The Episcopalians, the United Presbyterians and the Roman Catholics directed their efforts at the most needy classes in society and appear, at least on the level of elementary education, to have made a success of their schools. Table 2 of the Appendix suggests that where writing and arithmetic were concerned such schools were equalling, if not surpassing, the record of the Established and Free Church schools.

On the other hand, the Free and Established Church schools were specifically described as being for all classes in society and were concerned with advanced work as well as the 3 R's. While this was the ideal, there is evidence from the annual reports of the Inspectors of Schools that even in the parochial schools, earlier praised for their mixture of classes, the middle class child was becoming increasingly rare. As early as 1861, John Gordon, Inspector for Church of Scotland schools in the West of Scotland found:

An admixture of the better classes, while inevitable and customary in Scotland, is of no disadvantage to the humbler pupils; but the reverse. It shows, however, a tendency to decrease in the parish schools, from the improving opportunities of access to a higher class of schools in central places.⁷⁶

74 Arg. Com. p. lxxxii.

75 Arg. Com. p. lvi.

76 PP 1861 XLIX, Gordon, p. 224.

Much the same sort of thing was reported by Dr. Woodford, Inspector of Established Church schools in the Lowlands and the Western Isles, who noticed in 1863 that:

there are a few of the middle class, but the rest are generally such that the minister, though he may be a strong supporter of his parish school, often provides for the education of his own children otherwise.⁷⁷

It may be concluded that though such higher subjects as Latin and Mathematics continued to be taught in ordinary Scottish schools, especially in the Dick Bequest area, there was, as the Argyll Commissioners noted, likely to be less emphasis on such subjects in the future.

Contemporaries thought that this was due partly to the diminished number of middle class children at the ordinary parochial schools. These were the pupils who, because of their relatively comfortable financial backgrounds, were most able to remain in school and hence demand advanced education from the parochial dominie. The other reason cited for the decline of the university subjects was the operation of the Revised Code. Scots schools may have continued officially to earn government grant on the Code of 1860, but the inspectorate almost inevitably concentrated on the elementary subjects in assessing grant. Bone points out⁷⁸ that, with the exception of John Kerr, the Scottish inspectorate was generally in favour of the increased emphasis on elementary subjects as a means of promoting greater general educational efficiency. The following quotation from Maxwell and Sellar bears this out. It was suggested that:

it is not improbable that as the railways open up the country, greater facility of locomotion will have the effect of draining away a number of children who are now, and have been recently, educated in classics at

⁷⁷ PP 1863 XLVII, Woodford, p. 140.

⁷⁸ T. R. Bone. School Inspection in Scotland (1968). pp.69 - 70

parochial and other schools in the country. The operation of the Revised Code will doubtless have the same effect. But there is no reason to suppose that the number of pupils instructed in Latin and Greek in Scotland will depreciate on this account, and there is every reason to suppose that the quality of instruction will be improved.⁷⁹

While it may be argued that this affected only a small sector of Scottish education - only 640 out of 10,865 enrolled pupils in the 130 parochial schools examined, studies the classics - contemporaries believed that the study of such subjects in the ordinary schools of the country proved the superiority of Scottish over English education. Their expectations were unjustified; the Commissioners believed that, except in the Dick Bequest area, the quality of instruction in the classics was "far from good".⁸⁰

On the other hand, the opposition to the views held by the Commissioners pointed out the dangers of confusing efficient educational training in the 3 R's - as emphasised in the Revised Code - with a general attack on all parochial education that was not elementary. Certainly, many parochial dominies could give their pupils only a superficial smattering of the classics and mathematics. That Scottish parochial-trained entrants did woefully poor work in the I.C.S. examinations is a matter of record.⁸¹

However, it was at least a matter of opinion that a poor showing in a non-Scottish competitive examination was sufficient ground to attack an ethos based on a wider view of education than mere drilling in the 3 R's, however efficient. A more fundamental attack on the Scottish educational ethos could be made by scrutinising the elementary parts of parochial school education.

⁷⁹ Arg. Com. Rural, p. 165.

⁸⁰ Arg. Com. Rural, p. 165-6.

⁸¹ G. E. Davie. The Democratic Intellect, 1961, p. 42.

The Commissioners found that certain schools, the inspected ones, were superior to the others, but even in such schools, the quality of religious instruction was low - yet another blow for Scottish pre-conceptions of the educational system.⁸² Much teaching of the Catechism was by rote:

All acknowledged that the children were not expected to understand the answers; but they held that the answers learned in childhood clung to the people's memories as they grew up, and were valuable,⁸³ not only as an intellectual, but also as a moral discipline.

At best, this was only an excuse for rote learning; at worst, it could be the perfect escape hole for a bored teacher - children who were accustomed to rote learning of religious and moral precepts could, with even more justification, be left at copy-book writing and oral spelling⁸⁴ with the result that:

children leave school unable to put pen to paper for any practical purposes.⁸⁵

Sellar and Maxwell were correct but perhaps somewhat harsh on the parochial system. One further reason for illiteracy among recent school leavers was the early age at which children were expected to start contributing full-time to the family budget. Educational consolidation came a poor second to that.

There were Victorian educational reformers - the ones that spring to mind are Bell and Wood - but all too often Scottish education seems to have adopted the worst of both systems. Bell's monitorial system could be yet another excuse for rote learning in the junior classes; Wood's Intellectual system of question and answer could all too readily become a sort of secular Catechism.

⁸² Arg. Com. Rural, p. 158.

⁸³ Arg. Com. Rural, p. 159.

⁸⁴ Arg. Com. Rural, p. 161.

⁸⁵ Arg. Com. Rural, p. 162.

By the late 1860's, denominational education in Scotland was in a chaotic state. There were many good schools, but just as many were inefficient in one way or another, whether in teaching or in accommodation. Economic conditions affected teaching in particular districts and the aims of the denominations differed widely. On the whole, most were proud to possess their own schools - it was a sort of insurance against losing any of their members to other congregations. Ecclesiastical effort, however, no matter how zealous or how generous, could educate only a certain number of Scottish children. Private enterprise did almost as much.

Section 2. Private Effort in Scottish Education between 1840 and 1872.

One of the main obstacles in a study of this sector of Scottish education is the relative dearth of extant material. Admittedly, there are records in profusion for the middle class sector of this field, but this is not relevant here. In the field of elementary working class education, the area will be divided into three for easier study - the adventure schools, the subscription schools and the factory schools.

For the first class, the records that remain are very sparse, the main reason being that very many of these schools were little more than baby-minding establishments. The Argyll Commissioners were, to say the least, unimpressed by one adventure school they inspected in Hutchesontown in Glasgow.

There were forty-seven present, some of them accommodated in the kitchen-bed. The air was loaded with noxious smells and it was a relief to escape into the open street. The education had no reality about it ... The master is an Irishman and a Roman Catholic and he and his wife divide the labours between them - the wife having the lighter share, as she has the cooking to look after.⁸⁶

⁸⁶ Arg. Com. Glasgow, p. 67.

Conditions could be just as bad in the country areas. Sellar and Maxwell described one such school they visited:

This is held in a room that is half a bedroom and half a kitchen. The bed was not made. In the middle of the room was a large dish, into which the mistress seemed to be peeling potatoes; a pot of broth was on the fire, sending out a heavy noxious smell; there were hams and dried fish hanging from the roof, almost to the children's heads. The floor was of stone, and there were no benches or maps or forms, or any school apparatus. The room was small; there were 26 children, ages four to thirteen, present; and the atmosphere was very bad.⁸⁷

What surprised the Argyll Commissioners was that these schools charged much the same fees as neighbouring schools of a much higher educational standard.⁸⁸

Why did parents send their children to such low grade schools when others were available in the vicinity? Part of the answer can be found here:

He [an adventure schoolmaster] is widely known among the workpeople of the district, in connection with the issue of education certificates, for which he charged or charges 6d apiece; and he admitted that his certificates had fallen into disrepute through persons who had been ill-natured enough to assert that he issued many more than he had scholars to represent.⁸⁹

Children could go to work as soon as they obtained such certificates and the temptation for such uninspected schoolmasters to profiteer must have been great. That was the case in the urban areas. In the country there was no need to use meretricious education certificates before a child could work. Agricultural pursuits were not covered by the various Factory and Workshop Acts. Yet still there were adventure schools in rural areas. Many were set up purely as speculative ventures - to provide a living for

⁸⁷ Arg. Com. Rural, p. 104.

⁸⁸ Arg. Com. Rural, p. 105

⁸⁹ Arg. Com. Glasgow, p. 26.

those who had no liking or skill for other forms of employment. Here, presumably, they existed often because they were cheaper than alternative schools. On occasion, the teachers eked a precarious living only because of the charity of local people. One school had pupils because:

The parents send them out of compassion to the master, who has no other means of living.⁹⁰

That was certainly an admirably Christian sentiment but not one which was calculated to do their children much educational benefit, There were one or two reasonable adventure schools⁹¹ but the majority, according to the Argyll Commission, were well below the standard of the average denominational school. It was an indictment of the Scottish educational system that 11.2% of those on the roll should be at such schools.*

Standards were generally better in the subscription schools, many of which were set up by philanthropists to aid local working class education.

Other subscription schools were set up by such bodies as the Gaelic Schools societies, the SSPCK (already dealt with), by local combinations of working men and by local industrialists. Obviously, these bodies guaranteeing finance were very different and it will be convenient to deal separately with each group. The one thing all these schools had in common was that some sort of financial resource was available to the teacher other than fees. Often a building was provided or let at a nominal rent, and occasionally equipped by the guaranteeing body. In other cases, some minimum salary was guaranteed. Such schools had much to gain from government grants, both as guarantee to the teacher of a reasonable salary, and as a useful financial supplement to the undertakers, enabling them to offer a continuing education to the locality.

⁹⁰ Arg. Com. Rural, p. 104.

⁹¹ Arg. Com. Rural, p. 102.

* See also Appendix, Table 1.

The Muirkirk Village Society School was set up in 1842 by some "influential gentlemen" because there was dissatisfaction with the existing teaching in the village. This school lasted until 1862 when the Iron Company - a branch of the Bairds' concerns - took it over. The school furniture was sold, realising the sum of £2. 4. 7d. - which suggests that what there was (six maps, twenty-nine school prints, sixteen school forms, four desks, two blackboards, etc.) was in poor condition.⁹² Many were in better condition than this and the Argyll Commissioners noted that: many were efficiently taught and doing satisfactory work.⁹³

What was necessary, in their opinion, was steady financial support. Some of the better schools ensured that the standard of teaching would be high by selecting certificated teachers.⁹⁴ This, of course, allowed them to claim government grant - an extremely useful financial boost to school income.

Also part of the endowed and subscription school effort were the sewing schools for girls. Like other such schools, they were of mixed character and many of them were set up in the Highlands by the Gaelic Schools societies and by the SSPCK. The former were largely defunct by the 1840's. Such schools had one advantage for the undertakers - they were cheaper to run than schools employing male teachers - the SSPCK paid £20 to its male teachers but only £8 to female teachers. The Argyll Commissioners were very much in favour of female teachers, pointing out that most were Normal School trained.⁹⁵ At least one Inspector, D. Middleton, was less optimistic.

⁹² Ayr County Council (hereafter ACC)
Muirkirk Village Society School Minute Book, 9/1/63.

⁹³ Arg. Com. Rural, p. 82

⁹⁴ Arg. Com. Rural, p. 83.

⁹⁵ Arg. Com. Rural, p. 110

He wrote of: "the island schoolmistress who manages somehow to exist on less than $3\frac{1}{2}$ d a day".⁹⁶

A similar discrepancy of opinion can be found when assessments of the small number of subscription schools managed by working men are compared. The Commissioners found that the buildings of 46% of such schools were bad and that 48% of the teaching indifferent or bad.⁹⁷ They ascribed this to the poor quality of teachers there and to the influence of social or sectarian prejudice on the local boards. On the other hand, there were favourable mentions of these schools by HMI's of Schools in 1857,⁹⁸ 1866⁹⁹ and 1871.¹⁰⁰ It should not be forgotten that in their recommendations for a form of local school management, the Commissioners strongly recommended a committee weighted in favour of the existing heritors.¹⁰¹

The last group set up by, broadly speaking, private effort, was the factory school. Here again the same difficulties suffered by the subscription schools had to be faced. Financial aid had to be fixed and certain so that a school could be successful. Many of these schools received government aid and hence had certificated teachers. This in itself was enough to ensure that certain minimum standards were achieved. Furthermore, finance was no problem since many employers exacted a compulsory levy on all or most of their workers for educational purposes.¹⁰² Some employers could, at a later date, be rather reluctant

⁹⁶ PP 1860 LIV Middleton, p. 352.

⁹⁷ Arg. Com. Rural, p. 85.

⁹⁸ PP 1857 - 8, XLV Gordon, P. 690 - Govan Colliery.

⁹⁹ PP 1867, XXII Wilson, p. 335 - Keppoch Hill

¹⁰⁰ PP 1872, XXII Gordon, p. 89 - Greenhills mine; also
Coldingham fishermen.

¹⁰¹ Arg. Com., p. 98 - Bill, Clauses 38 and 39.

¹⁰² Arg. Com. Rural, p. 79.

to disgorge some of the cash they collected for this purpose. Roxburgh cites the case¹⁰³ of a Glasgow employer who had to be forced to pay up 7¹/₂d arrears for one of his employees. Most employers were much more conscientious. The Baird Iron Company was so well satisfied with its efforts in this field, and so much against national education that, even after 1872, they continued to spend £3,000 per annum on education.¹⁰⁴

Not all factory schools were so satisfactory. In Glasgow, though the owners of tobacco factories had set up a night-school to teach children employed by them between the hours of 6 a.m. and 6 p.m., many were too tired to profit by the philanthropy of their employers. "Two at least (seven or eight years old) were sound asleep" at the time of the inspection. The Children's Employment Commission wanted all such factories put under the Factory Extension Act¹⁰⁵ and it does seem as if the total prohibition of child labour was the only answer to the problem of the uneducated worker.

A very small proportion of factory schools catered for half-timers under the Factory and Printfields Acts. The Commissioners calculated that little more than one percent of those employed in factories were half-timers, as opposed to the English figure of 11%.¹⁰⁶ This is not to say that the half-time system necessarily accounted for all those children employed. Roxburgh¹⁰⁷ has calculated that even after 1872 up to three times as many children than were registered as half-timers were actually at work. Even those who were registered as half-timers before 1872 received an unsatisfactory education.

¹⁰³ J. M. Roxburgh. The School Board of Glasgow (1971), p. 89.
The employer was Livingstone of London Road.

¹⁰⁴ Marwick, op cit, p. 170.

¹⁰⁶ Arg. Com. Glasgow, p. 118

¹⁰⁵ Both from Arg. Com. Glasgow, p. 39.

¹⁰⁷ Roxburgh, op cit, p. 85.

The Commissioners were not impressed by the results. For one thing, education under these Acts was the responsibility of Factory Inspectors, who could not be expected to pass judgment on the value of such education.¹⁰⁸ Greig and Harvey, Assistant Commissioners for Glasgow, had this to say about the operation of the Acts:

In one or two great factories in Glasgow, the teacher of the factory school is also a time-marker, that is, he keeps the time-bill of the establishment; in the other, he is a clerk.¹⁰⁹

Private effort in education produced, as might be expected, mixed results. Gaps were filled which would otherwise have been left unstopped, especially in the rural areas. The enterprise of a number of isolated families in engaging a teacher for their children during the winter months was commended by the Argyll Commission, though they did add that the employment of a certificated female teacher would have been better.¹¹⁰ They presumably did not mean that she, too, should travel round the farms - the exigencies of crofting accommodation would make this difficult in the extreme. The trouble with employing a certificated teacher who would, presumably, earn government grant, was that suitable accommodation had to be provided. This was a heavy financial drain on poor communities. For them, the beauty of an itinerant teacher was that accommodation was already there. It does seem that at times the Commissioners were less than realistic in some of the criticisms they made. To commend in one breath and condemn in the next was possibly unjust in the circumstances.

¹⁰⁸ Arg. Com. Glasgow, p. 116.

¹⁰⁹ Arg. Com. Glasgow, p. 117.

¹¹⁰ Arg. Com. H and I, p. 110

Adventure schools in the towns were undoubtedly in need of improvement but, even so, some at least supplied the rudiments of literacy to children who might otherwise have remained entirely uninstructed. It should be remembered that, in cities, recognised schools of whatever variety could not provide enough school places for the population.

More clearly on the credit side, the efforts of subscription and factory schools were fairly satisfactory. Such schools educated 29.3% of those enrolled.* On the other hand, there were certain basic criticisms of private efforts to be made. It was notorious that one of the main reasons for the popularity of certain unendowed and uninspected schools, despite in some cases their higher fees, was that they could get children more quickly through school and out to work. Since they were not government aided, they were not constrained to impart a good grounding in all of the 3 R's.¹¹¹ The result was a sort of "black market" in school education certificates from a few adventure schools. While this was not by any means the rule, it was clear that the government could hardly be expected to stop all abuses when there was such a multiplicity of bodies prepared to offer some sort of education.

Section 3. The Government and Education between 1840 and 1872

The government's financial interest in education had begun in 1833 with its decision to give grants towards the erection of new school buildings in areas where there was an educational need. Such grants depended on local effort providing half of the cost of the new building and were therefore not very helpful in the districts where such aid was most needed - the poverty-stricken Highlands and Islands and the centres

¹¹¹ Lewis, op cit, p. 43.

of large towns. There were attempts to improve this situation by setting up evening schools but it was an uphill struggle for teachers there. The Argyll Commissioners visited a large Episcopalian evening school in Bridgeton parish in Glasgow and found:

Of the one hundred and fifty, not above twenty could do more than read the New Testament. They could not read a book or a newspaper, and to read as a pleasure was not to be thought of. The writing and arithmetic were still more deficient.^{111a}

Much good work, however, was done in the relatively prosperous rural areas and in the small towns of Scotland.

Lewis' criticism of this preliminary scheme - that it provided for quantity but not for quality in education - was met by the institution of augmentation grants for teachers doing good work. Difficulties about the lack of trained teachers were met by the Circular of 1846 which allowed grants for pupil teachers, the "State-paid apprentices"¹¹² and for aid to teacher training colleges, the Normal Schools. The Minutes of 1846 also raised the salaries of teachers in government-approved schools:

Henceforth no male certificated teacher in a State-aided school could receive less than £45 a year, with a rent free house, and the average salary was likely to be £70, with a further addition of about £12 for instructing three apprentices.¹¹³

The amount of financial aid mounted steadily as the years passed and alarm at the sums expended, resulted in a policy of retrenchment in the late '50's and early '60's. Dr. James Cumming, HMI of Free Church schools in the north and east of Scotland noted in 1863:

There seems at present to be a recoil in the opposite direction occasioned by the annually increasing amount of national expenditure on education.¹¹⁴

^{111a} Arg. Com. Glasgow, p. 22

¹¹² T. R. Bone. School Inspection in Scotland 1840-1966, (1968) p. 35

¹¹³ Ibid., p. 37

¹¹⁴ PP 1864, XLV Cumming, p. 264

The English situation was dealt with by the Revised Code of 1862, but when a similar Code was introduced into Scotland in 1864, the government found itself faced with such a public outcry that the Code was withdrawn and modified considerably. The main point at issue was Supplementary Rule 10 of the Code of January, 1864 which attempted to define the social class of children for whom the managers could claim a grant for instructing. Of a doubtful case, it asked:

Does he [the parent] rank and associate with the workingmen or with the tradesmen of the place?¹¹⁵

This, together with the clause that said that educational grants were for the children of: "the classes who support themselves by manual labour,"¹¹⁶ gave much offence to Scots who treasured the apparently classless nature of their national schools. The position of the traditional "university subjects" - the classics and mathematics - was also in question. A compromise was worked out under which the 3 R's were to be examined individually, as called for by the Revised Code, but credit was also to be given by the Inspectors for good teaching in the advanced subjects. Schools were examined under the Revised Code; they were paid under the Code of 1860. This odd situation was the result of enormous public outcry at what was in some quarters regarded as an open attack on Scottish education. Many Scots, like their fellow citizens south of the Border, were disturbed in any case by the growth of central governmental power. The Revised Code, with its emphasis on one class education, was seen by this group as exemplifying the hidden, and hateful, effect of state aid. Certainly, the localities received financial aid, but it was felt that this could not compensate sufficiently for the loss of local autonomy.

¹¹⁵ Revised Code, 1864, p. lxvi.

¹¹⁶ Ibid, p. xxix



The uncertain state of education in Scotland (at least in that sector which was in receipt of government grants) mirrored the untidy compromise that had been put together. Augmentation grants went to the managers, and not, as previously, to the teachers.¹¹⁷ The same applied to the apprenticeships of pupil teachers.¹¹⁸ On the other hand, the article requiring State-aided schools to be exclusively for the children of the working class was not enforced - the Commissioners pointed out the impossibility of doing so.¹¹⁹ They emphasised that the Scottish situation, with a school in every parish created by statute and paid for by the heritors and their tenants, had resulted in a more popular education system than that of England. Traditionally, because the Scottish parochial school was supported by all, it had drawn from all classes in the parish. All the same, despite its disadvantages, the Revised Code did put a greater emphasis on the teaching of all the 3 R's, which was no bad thing at a time when so many Scots children were leaving school able only to read. This was not, of course, true of all schools. Furthermore, there were other reasons, social and economic, that forced a child to withdraw from school inadequately grounded in the 3 R's. It was not just because of faults in instruction. Indeed, it can be argued that the Revised Code did attack obvious failings in Scottish education but only at the expense of much that was admirable in the system. However, the Revised Code directed the attention of the teacher, and not the pupil teacher, to the younger children. Inspectors calculated the Government grant on the general impression made by the school; if the junior classes did poorly in the 3 R's, the overall impression would be bad. Nor does the Revised Code seem to have significantly

¹¹⁷ Ibid, clause 47.

¹¹⁸ Ibid, clause 75f.

¹¹⁹ Arg. Com., p. cv

damaged what advanced education there was in Scottish schools.¹²⁰ The

Commissioners stated:

'Reading, writing, arithmetic and a little sewing for the girls', is what the parents demand throughout the country.¹²¹

They were more than a little partial here. Many parents who were financially able to do so, demanded considerably more for their children than the educational basics described above. Taken all in all, however, the chief fault of the Revised Code was that it was suspended in part each year. No one could be sure that it would continue to be so in the following year. It was impossible to plan ahead.

So far we have discussed the educational provision for those children attending school. Many were not so fortunate. The plight of working children exercised the contemporary conscience. Quite apart from direct legislation on education, the government took a hand in the abolition of child labour. This was not an easy problem to tackle either in the country or in the city. Too many employers believed that they would fail if child labour were abolished. Cotton spinners, Messrs. Knox of Kilbirnie in Ayrshire were typical; they were very apprehensive about the effect of employing only literate children.¹²² However, they were also worried about the amount of crime in the district, caused they believed, by lack of education. They could either have continued with the unsatisfactory half-time system, or decided to employ only those children who were already literate. The latter course was followed and, after early difficulties, the local schools were well filled and it was recognised throughout the district that only literate children need apply to Knox's for work.

¹²⁰ Arg. Com. Rural, p. 165.

¹²¹ Arg. Com. Rural, p. 166

¹²² Boyd, op cit, p. 139

However, this sort of activity was not compulsory - Knox's only undertook it because they were worried about the local incidence of crime. Most firms were not so concerned. A number of Factory Acts had been passed, but, as the Argyll Commission showed, their effects were peripheral. The main defect was in the stipulation that children should attend school for a certain length of time; there was no real test of a child's literacy.¹²³ The founding of evening schools to supplement the education of their workpeople may have salved the consciences of the employers; it is doubtful if they were of much benefit to children of eight or nine who had worked a twelve hour shift.¹²⁴ The Factory Inspectors, who were responsible for ensuring that no underage child held a job, were grossly overworked¹²⁵ and had little time for nice questions such as the exact age of such and such a boy who was down a mine, or tending a machine in a factory. Parental need demanded that children should work and few children admitted to being under age when asked. Lewis pointed out: "The schoolmaster's fee is an immediate loss to poor parents,"¹²⁶ a state of affairs which accounted for a certain reluctance on the part of the parents to renounce the few coppers a day that a child could earn by casual labour in the city streets.

In rural areas the problem of child labour was just as bad, particularly in the crofting region where parents relied on the labour of their children in herding cattle or singling turnips. The same applied in the fishing villages where children could collect mussels and bait lines at the age of eight.¹²⁷ Even today, "tattie holidays" in areas like Strathmore remind us that child labour still plays a part in farm life.

123 Arg. Com. p. cxxxiv.

124 Arg. Com. Glasgow, p. 39.

125 Marwick, op cit, pp. 156 & 191.

126 Lewis, op cit, p. 46.

127 Arg. Com. Rural, p. 8.

The problems facing the government were too complex to admit of piecemeal ameliorations. While regulations were enacted to prevent child labour below a certain age, there was no legally binding duty on parents to get their children educated in the years before they went to work. The same criticism applied to half-time and evening classes; it was all very well to see that a child attended classes after work - to make him learn anything was quite a different matter.

Section 4. Industrial and Ragged Schools

Thus far, we have dealt with those groups of Scottish children who had some sort of home life and some years of schooling, however scanty. But the growing towns and cities produced numbers of children who did not even receive the dubious benefits of adventure school or half-time education. They were the children of the most economically depressed sections of the population. The Victorians lumped all these social unfortunates together, describing them as the improvident poor. The problem facing educationalists was how to cope with their children and make useful citizens of them. One result was the industrial school. In 1859, HMI Mr. Gordon inspected five such schools, with 589 pupils, and remarked:

Among them are found several distinct classes of pupils; some who, having been convicted of crime, were entered under the Act 17 and 18 Vict., cap., 86; some received as vagrants or mendicant under cap., 74 of the same year; and some who had been simply pauper, or poor and destitute.¹²⁸

These children were taught some useful skill - the boys a trade and the girls domestic work. Gordon added:

And after all, the pupils of either sex derives no greater benefit from the training now mentioned, than that which lies in the generally moralising effect of the formed habit of steady industry.¹²⁹

In a few cases, the excellence of the training given had the opposite effect

¹²⁸ PP. 1860, LIV, Gordon, p. 237.

¹²⁹ Ibid., p. 237

to that intended. A few parents were encouraged:

to trump up paltry cases against their children for the purpose of getting them off their hands. This was done to an extent to constitute it a practice.¹³⁰

It was not, of course, merely the excellent training provided that made these schools attractive to poor parents. The meals, though nutritionally poor by present day standards, were vastly better than what was available at home. Furthermore, the children were at least warm at night. In the light of what is known of mid nineteenth century Glasgow, the industrial school must have seemed a golden opportunity to some poor parents. For the improvident, it was also a convenient relief from responsibility.

The Industrial Schools Act of 1866 attempted to differentiate between budding criminals and those children who were unfortunate enough to be mendicant or destitute. It provided for the industrial training, lodging, clothing, feeding and teaching of the latter children. The first group was sent to reformatory schools which were punitive rather than reformative in their outlook. The industrial schools were to be inspected and cities and boroughs empowered to establish new ones, if necessary. The cost of maintenance was calculated as 4s. 6d. per week per child; 2s. of this was to be paid by the parent or guardian if the child was voluntarily committed; otherwise the parochial board was responsible. The Act was permissive rather than mandatory; it also added to the total of local rating for poor relief. It was probably for these reasons that the Argyll Commissioners discovered:

The chief difficulty seems to consist in inducing magistrates to enforce the law.¹³¹

¹³⁰ Arg. Com. Glasgow, p. 102.

¹³¹ Third Report of the Argyll Commission
PP 1867-8, XXIX, Memorandum as to
Industrial Ragged Schools, p. xxxvii.

Part of the trouble may also have been that the parent still had a big say in what happened to his child. The form of religious instruction was to be decided by the parent. If faced with a refractory child, he could voluntarily commit his offspring to the industrial school. In some cases, the child was permitted to lodge with his parents. These were liberal provisions and ones calculated to encourage parents to part with their children temporarily in order to give them a good start in life. But contemporary opinion laid great stress on self-support and still regarded the difficulties of the indigent poor as largely self-imposed. Captain Dempster, secretary and treasurer of the Edinburgh Original Ragged and Industrial School, suggested the following partial solution in his evidence:

it is a good thing to take something from the parents because it saddles them with a responsibility, and makes them look after the child a little more sharply.¹³²

No one wished to rot the moral fibre of the poor - or place too great a burden on the local rates.

The motive behind the setting up of ragged schools was a trifle more humanitarian. The aim was to feed and educate children who would otherwise go hungry and untaught. Sheriff Watson of Aberdeen opened the first such school in Scotland in 1841. His reason was philanthropic.

When I find that there are two hundred and eighty children here under fourteen years of age who have no means of subsisting but by begging and stealing I think it is high time to attempt another new institution.¹³³

The institution he set up was organised along the same lines as the industrial schools described above, except that the children did not board at the school.

¹³² Ibid, Oral Evidence as to Industrial Schools, Dempster, p.xliv.

¹³³ Marion Angus, Sheriff Watson of Aberdeen (1913), p. 58.

Indeed, the industrial schools followed closely on Watson's model; the boarding provision of the former was an attempt to remove the child from a bad home background. That was less of a problem in the ragged school. Many children came because their mothers had to work during the day in order to provide for their families. The children were given some religious instruction followed by natural history and geography. They were then fed porridge and milk and spent the rest of the morning in some kind of industrial training. After dinner, they were given instruction in the 3 R's; supper followed and the children were finally sent home at eight p.m.¹³⁴ One observer noted:

The feeding is a most important feature in these schools, without it regular attendance would be hopeless.¹³⁵

Other Scottish philanthropists followed Watson's example. It did appear that there was an increasing emphasis on the need to make children worthy members of society. Indeed, since ragged schools were generally organised on a denominational basis, a certain element of proselytism crept in. Dempster's school taught the Shorter Catechism, with comments, which:

conditions are generally not acceptable to the parents of Roman Catholic children.¹³⁶

As a result, Roman Catholics formed their own parallel institutions, like the Industrial School and Orphanage in Abercromby Street in Glasgow.¹³⁷

Despite these drawbacks and defects, it must be recognised that the industrial and ragged school effort did fill a social need in Scottish society in mid century. Dr. Guthrie's figures¹³⁸ suggesting a lower juvenile crime

¹³⁴ James Scotland, The History of Scottish Education, Vol. I (1969), p. 274.

¹³⁵ Alfred Hill, Train up a Child in the Way He should go, (London, 1856), p. 7.

¹³⁶ Dempster, op cit, p. xlv.

¹³⁷ Arg. Com. Glasgow, pp. 105-7.

¹³⁸ Arg. Com. Oral Evidence of Dr. Guthrie, p. 246.

rate after the institution of these schools was a pointer in the right direction. He believed that after five years of the operation of ragged schools, the juvenile crime rate had dropped from 5% of the whole to only 0.5%. Thackeray's praise of Watson had some solid foundation:

You are doing more good than all the members of
Parliament in Great Britain.¹³⁹

The ragged and industrial schools movement attempted to cope with those children who fell through the net of conventional educational effort. Their worth was recognised by the Industrial Schools Act of 1866 which permitted local parochial boards to contribute to the upkeep of industrial schools. However, these schools like the others described in this chapter, could not enforce attendance except on those detained. As a result, this educational effort also suffered from too lax and too short an attendance for a real improvement in the educational standard of the country.

Conclusion

It was clear by 1872 that the government was permanently involved in Scottish education. It was equally obvious that there was little of what could truly be called organisation in Scottish education at this period. Too many competing parties claimed a part in the administration of education, and their motives were often as mixed as their methods. In a few cases, as the Argyll Commission showed, there was a wasteful duplication of educational resources, because of sectarian rivalry. It was also abundantly clear that much effort and money was being put into education which by any standards was woefully low. There were many bad adventure school teachers, but what could be said of the parochial dominie who had been in the same school for

¹³⁹ Angus, op cit, p. 82.

fifty years? He could, with persistence, manage to squeeze a pension out of the heritors; what was to happen to the equally worthy Free Kirk, subscription or adventure school teacher when he became too old to work?

In many cases, education was being given in very sub-standard accommodation. Schools receiving Parliamentary grants might be better than most, but even there, there was room for improvement. In addition, the building grants offered by the government had one inalienable condition - local contributions must equal any money from the centre. This denied good school accommodation to the most poverty-stricken areas. Furthermore, many of the schools built by ecclesiastical or private efforts were by 1872 overcrowded and in need of extension. Many bodies did not have the necessary capital for this - the Free Church in particular was finding support for its schools to be an increasing burden. A similar criticism could be applied to the augmentation grants - the minimum salary for this was £30 per annum, a sum often beyond the reach of poor communities. Similarly for pupil teachers; the government grant did not entirely cover the full cost and communities could be faced with the disappearance of a pupil teacher as soon as he or she was qualified. On the other hand, it would not do to note only the shortcomings of Government aid. The requirement of inspection as a condition of any aid did much to improve standards. It also made for a more standardised type of education.

Whether this was a good or bad thing remains an open question. In the context of Scottish education in the years between 1840 and 1872, it probably did more good than harm. Even schools which for one reason or another were not eligible for direct government aid, including ragged and industrial schools, found that simple inspection kept them informed of the latest ideas in education.

It would, however, be foolish to equate efficiency with standardisation in education. There was much that was valuable in the parochial school, in particular, the idea that the goal of a school was more than repetitive drilling in the 3 R's. The aim was education, not mere literacy. Not all parochial schools came within even shouting distance of their goal, but it was there and many Scots felt that it should remain as the ultimate standard. It was reasonable that HMIs and the Argyll Commission should demand efficient teaching of the 3 R's to all the children in a school and criticise a teacher who neglected this responsibility to concentrate on his brighter and older pupils. Nevertheless, that should have been no excuse for confusing efficiency with the giving up of advanced teaching in parochial schools. Both elementary and advanced teaching was necessary for the Scottish education system. Government inspection promoted new and worthwhile ideas in teaching methods; the problem was to accept what was new and good, and still retain the traditional concept of the best in Scottish education.

The experience of England did something to encourage Scottish interest in educational legislation. Scottish M.P.'s were almost always willing to learn from the difficulties faced by English educational legislators. Many were also alert to the danger that English efficiency, while excellent in itself, might overshadow certain aspects of Scottish education they wished to preserve. This will be discussed more fully in the following chapter.

One thing had become clear by the beginning of the '70's - something had to be done to bring order to the chaos of Scottish educational provision. The make-shift and disorganised state of Scottish education could not continue indefinitely. It was too much to expect that any government would be willing indefinitely to continue the anomalous financial position of Scottish

education, whereby grant-earning schools were examined by the Code of 1864 and paid on the Code of 1860. Further, the published findings and conclusions of the Argyll Commission had furnished definitive evidence of the poor state of much of the vaunted Scottish educational system. It was clear to the inspectorate, the central government, and all sections of Scottish opinion that something had to be done. The question was - what?

CHAPTER 2

THE PASSING OF THE 1872 EDUCATION (SCOTLAND) ACT

Comfort?

Comfort scorned of devils
This truth the poet sings
That an M.P.'s crown of sorrow
Is devising better things.¹

The Act of 1872 was a controversial measure. It took away from the Established Church of Scotland the legal control of education which the Kirk had had for over three hundred years. On the other hand, the Act was passed by a British and not a Scottish Parliament. So, although the Act was strenuously opposed, the main focus for opposition was outside the Palace of Westminster. In 1871, an earlier Bill competed for Parliamentary time with such measures as the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, the Trade Union Bill, the Ballot Bill, and Cardwell's Army Regulation Bill. Twice in that year,² consideration of the Scottish measure was delayed in favour of British legislation. The Lord Advocate, George Young, clearly had more than Scottish opposition to deal with when he brought in his Bill in 1872 - he also had to fight for Parliamentary time for it. The imperial Parliament was apparently unmoved by pleas from public meetings. One held in Edinburgh in February 1870 passed this resolution:

That this meeting regards with a sense of regret and disappointment the present delay on the part of the Government to redeem the promise of extended and ameliorated national education, made to Scotland in the speech from the Throne which opened the first session of the reformed Parliament.³

¹ SRO LAP Box 18, Bundle 3, Mair of Free School, Darvel, to Lord Advocate, 25/2/1871.

² Hansard's Parliamentary Debates (hereafter Hansard) 1871, vol. ccv May 1st, c. 1937; vol. ccvi June 5th, c. 1535.

³ Edinburgh Evening Courant, 1/2/70.

The answer of the legislature was to pass an Education Act - for England.

Despite the apparent lack of interest on the part of the central Government, the new legislation for education did not pass unopposed. There was intense concern in Scotland in the years immediately before 1872 - as newspaper reports and almost five hundred items of correspondence⁴ to the Lord Advocate prove. The keenest supporters and most critical detractors of education legislation were to be found in Scotland, and not in Westminster. The problem will be examined therefore, mainly in the Scottish context, and will be divided into three parts:

- a) Earlier moves - Reports, Bills, etc.
- b) Public opinion on the subject, as far as this can be determined.
- c) Role of the Lord Advocate and his response to opinion in the country.

As early as 1834, with George Lewis' pamphlet "Scotland: a half-educated nation", people had known that there were gaps in the educational provisions for Scotland. In 1847, Hart-Davis wrote:

It is obvious that the voluntary system has not succeeded anywhere in educating the masses.⁵

It was logical for the Government to fill up as many gaps as possible with financial aid. During the '50's, Parliamentary aid for Scottish schools increased in value and was earned by more schools. However, because of lack of planning, it appeared to contemporaries that the cost was rising out of proportion to the effect. There were a number of attempts to reorganise Scottish education between 1854 and 1869. All six Bills - five before the Argyll Commission and one after - failed. Even the support of individual Lord Advocates did little to help.

Although the 1869 Bill failed, it does seem as if the Argyll

⁴ 497 items between Jan 1st 1870 and Aug 6th (Royal signature) 1872.

⁵ SRO GD 45/1/255 Memorandum on State Education p. 1.

Commission marked a turning point. The Second Report of the Commission brought to light large scale deficiencies in elementary education - even the much-prized Lowland parish schools were criticised. People may have suspected such deficiencies earlier, but from 1867 the proof was there for all to see.

The Commission's findings did not, however, go uncontested. The Church of Scotland, naturally enough, initiated a bitter attack on some of the statistics produced. In some cases their points were not adequately answered.⁶ Dr. Cook, the Convenor of the Education Committee of the Established Church, told the General Assembly of the Church's new scheme to combat educational deficiencies in rural parishes:

we had an answer to that appeal, but it was such as to show that really the destitution had been to a considerable extent exaggerated, because there were only six or seven applications, and these we at once most readily met, and rejoiced to do so.⁷

The validity of this claim is doubtful - the survey did not apply to the cities where the Commissioners found the most acute shortage of good school accommodation.

Despite its opposition to some of the Commission's findings, the Church of Scotland had, on the face of it, little real quarrel with the recommendations suggested by Argyll and his Committee. Primarily, the Commissioners wished to see weak spots in the existing framework repaired; there was to be no wholesale reorganisation of education in Scotland. Argyll believed that:

⁶ The case of Glasgow was applied to all large towns. On the other hand, later HMI Reports in the 1870's were just as critical of Dundee.

⁷ Scotsman, 30/5/70.

by a judicious improvement of the Parochial or National schools, and by taking advantage of the existing schools outside that system, combined with a reasonable modification of the rules on which the Privy Council grants are administered, and the extension of Government inspection, the existing schools may be rendered thoroughly efficient.⁸

He added:

We have resolved not to recommend that any alteration be made in the existing management of the Parochial Schools.⁹

Other recommendations included a Board of Education, overwhelmingly controlled by Scots, and the condition

That every Parochial, Adopted, or New school, shall be visited by an Inspector, once every year.¹⁰

With the exception of compulsory Government inspection, there was little that was new, or likely to upset the sensibilities of the Established Church. Yet the Church of Scotland and its political supporters fought the 1869 Bill, based on the above recommendations, tooth and nail. Any scheme that threatened the educational hegemony of the Kirk was unacceptable. The proposal in paragraph 5 of the Argyll recommendations to include, as part of a national system of education, schools other than parochial, was what really stuck in the throats of Established Church critics. The Scots Tories threw the Bill out of the House of Lords and stung Lord Advocate Moncrieff into gloating later,

I own to a certain grim amusement when I remember how for that last vote in the Lords, enormous exertions were made by my opponents to destroy, although they knew it not, the last chance they were ever to have of retaining a single shred of their old influence over the parish schools.¹¹

⁸ A Arg. Com. p clxxiv, para 5

⁹ Arg. Com. p clxxv, para 9

¹⁰ Arg. Com. p clxxviii para 21

¹¹ J. Moncrieff: Educational Retrospect, p 14 Cited by J.D. Myers: Scottish Teachers and Educational Policy, p 408 Unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, Edinburgh, 1970.

1869 marked the end of a twenty year period of supplementing and repairing the existing system. After 1870, radical change rather than reform was favoured. Exactly what caused this change in public opinion is difficult to say. A number of disparate factors were involved. First of all, the Argyll Commission showed the extent of educational deficiency in an uncontestable fashion. It does seem also that the Second Reform Act encouraged Parliament to take a closer look at the education of its new electors. The statement attributed to Lowe no doubt was exaggerated. But this was also the period of "Tory democracy"; there was a need for at least a minimum agreed set of values and vocabulary.

Thirdly, it may be possible that the failure of the 1869 Bill and the postponement of any possible legislation on Scottish education till after the passing of the English Act, persuaded Scots that only a radical measure would get the ear of the Government and bring any results. While it would not do to overstate this theory, it should be remembered that the howl of protest over Government delay was not due merely to Scottish sensitivity. There is evidence that petitioners in favour of Bills like that of 1871 were not wholehearted in their support for particular facets of proposed legislation. The petitioners, and this was true of the Town Councils in particular, were, however, willing to put up with certain deficiencies in order to bring education to those who would otherwise grow up entirely illiterate. After all, as late as 1871, 10% of men and 19.6% of women in Scotland signed the marriage register by making their mark.¹² These would generally be the young.

Lastly, the effect of the English Act must be taken into consideration. Due largely to the efforts of the English Non-Conformists, what came to be

¹² G. Balfour: The Educational Systems of Great Britain. Cited in G.S. Osborne: Scottish and English Schools, (1966) p 16.

known as the Religious Question came into prominence. English Dissenters campaigned fiercely against the hegemony of the Church of England; the Scottish Dissenters acted likewise towards their Established Church. Various inflammatory estimates of the paucity of Established Church membership did nothing to dampen the fires. The Scotsman encouraged this controversy:

When the times have changed so greatly as to exhibit the Established or State-endowed churches in the Scottish capital as only one-eighth part of the whole churches, there is not much either of strength or seemliness in the complaint that the Established Church is to lose its sole control over the national schools.¹³

Certainly only a minority of the population was connected with the Church of Scotland at this time - and for many the connection was remote, particularly in the urban areas. There were other innovations also connected with the English Act. School Boards elected by ratepayers were new to Scottish educational administration - though not such an innovation as they would have been before 1845 and the Parochial Boards. We can see some of these new ideas in the 1871 Bill.

The differences between this Bill and its predecessors were quite marked. For one thing, the Church of Scotland was to lose its legal control over the education of Scottish children. This had, of course, been partially achieved by the Burgh and Parochial Schoolmasters Act of 1861, but that Act, as the Argyll Commission noted, had only a very partial operation.

Since the passing of the Act of 1861 no test has been required of the schoolmaster, who may therefore belong to any denomination. It appears, however, from the reports of Messrs. Maxwell and Sellar, and of Mr Nicolson, that although such is the law, the appointment of schoolmasters in the Parochial schools visited by them has been almost entirely confined to members of the Established Church.¹⁴

¹³ Scotsman, 27/2/1871.

¹⁴ Arg. Com. p clxxv para 8.

Instead of the Church, control of parochial and burgh education was to be vested in:

all persons being of legal age, and owners or occupiers of any lands and heritages situated within the parish for which the board is to be elected, in respect of which ownership or occupation such persons respectively have been charged with and paid poors assessment for the year or other period of assessment and collection immediately preceding the election.¹⁵

This was a considerable change from the former select control of the minister and wealthier heritors. By an oversight, soon to be brought to his attention, the Lord Advocate had excluded the minister of the parish from any participation in education (parish ministers did not pay poors assessment); this did nothing to endear the Bill to the Established Church.

A second innovation, demanding a Certificate of Competency from all teachers, also aroused opposition. So did the provision that School Boards could dismiss unsatisfactory schoolmasters. These suggestions upset the Parochial schoolmasters. Thomas Fraser, schoolmaster of Golspie, expressed his dissatisfaction in no uncertain terms:

Schoolmasters of standing... did not choose to appear along with a lot of raw lads from a Normal School to compete for Certificates of Merit.¹⁶

To make his position even more clear, he added, in reference to Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools, that he felt a

Want of confidence in several of the ill-educated men who have been employed by the Education Department and called them "failed lawyers".¹⁷

Thirdly, the 1871 Bill contained a conscience clause which considerably upset the Established Church; it seemed to attack what they sincerely believed

¹⁵ Education (Scotland) Bill 1871, clause 8(2).

¹⁶ SRO LAP Box 18, Bundle 2 Thomas Fraser, Golspie to Lord Advocate, 14/2/1871.

¹⁷ Ibid

was their superior tolerance compared, for example, with that of the Roman Catholics. Mr. Gordon (C) said in the debate on the First Reading of the Bill:

we have evidence from the Roman Catholic priests and others that they were so satisfied that there was no attempt at proselytism, that they permitted the children then under their charge to attend [the parish schools].¹⁸

One suspects that his was a somewhat exaggerated claim for Scottish tolerance.

Finally, the Bill set up a Scotch Education Department, to oversee education in Scotland. Once again, this caused strife. Opponents pointed out that the new Department was nothing but a sub-committee of the Committee in Council on Education - and furthermore was based in London, with largely English personnel. The bogey of English control of Scottish education was to plague both the Bill of 1871 and that of 1872. Irish independence in educational matters exacerbated feelings.

These criticisms, though of importance, were basically points of detail. Why were they not cleared up after the second reading of the Bill? Indeed, why did the Bill not proceed further in the House? Was it merely that, as suggested earlier, other pieces of legislation supplanted it? Or was it that the Bill was after all too radical a departure from earlier legislation for Parliament and the Scots to stomach? Was it possible that a time-lag of one year was enough to convince the people that such legislation was the only answer? Or was the real reason for the rejection of the 1871 Bill sectarian disputes even among those who were its chief supporters? It does seem, according to newspaper reports of the Free Church Commission in February 1871 and the UP Synod in the same month, that opinion in those bodies differed widely over the question of religious instruction in the

¹⁸ Hansard, 1871, vol. civ Feb 13th, c 213.

future public schools. Dr Smith of the Free Kirk was in favour of protection for local minorities, but added that he feared the Voluntarists and Scottish secularists.¹⁹ The slant of attitude of the Education Committee of the UP Synod was subtly different.²⁰ It praised the recognition of the rights of parents over religious instruction, but added that it was totally against any grants to denominational schools. This could not be expected to go down well with the Free Church which was justifiably proud of its post-Disruption educational record. The differences are only slight, but were enough to split a common front. This had already been stressed by the breakdown of negotiations for union between the two churches - basically due to Dr Begg's opposition to Principal Rainy's initiative.²¹

The last stage in the development of thought leading to the Act of 1872 can be seen in the drafts for this measure and in the Act itself.

Firstly, the vexed question of School Board representation was solved.

The electors shall consist of all persons being of legal age, and not subject to any legal incapacity, whose names are entered on the latest valuation roll applicable to the parish or burgh for which the board is to be elected, made up and completed not less than one month prior to the election, as owners or occupiers of lands and heritages of the annual value of not less than four pounds.²²

Thus, the problem presented by the parish ministers was dealt with - and any quibbles over whether or not the poors assessment had been paid, were nipped in the bud.

¹⁹ Scotsman 2/3/71.

²⁰ Scotsman 1/3/71.

²¹ Kellas, *op cit*, p. 60; G.D. Henderson: The Claims of the Church of Scotland, (London 1951), p 114; see also the Scotsman 25/5/71, 26/5/71 for this acrimonious debate.

²² Education (Scotland) Act, 1872, Clause 12/2.

On religion, the solution was rather more controversial. Scottish Dissenters had campaigned assiduously for more stringent conscience and "timetable" rules.²³ These they gained. On the other hand, unlike the English measure, denominational religious teaching was allowed on the rates. It was up to the elected School Board to decide what was the "use and wont" of the school district in religious education. This compromise satisfied the Free Kirk, but not the most extreme Voluntaryists among the United Presbyterians. However, they comforted themselves with the knowledge that no denominational school was eligible for rate support. In general, the Presbyterian Dissenters were well pleased; other Dissenters were well protected by the new clauses.

Teachers could also feel satisfied with the new measure. There were guarantees of continued employment²⁴ and de facto Certification for existing incumbents.²⁵ In addition, teachers threatened with dismissal on grounds of inefficiency were given greater rights of hearing and appeal.²⁶

Fourthly, penalties for withholding an uneducated child from school were extended to employers - parents were no longer seen as the sole guilty parties.²⁷ Admittedly, the later Factory Acts had already allowed for this. The novelty was that the measure applied to all children. This meant that the attainment of a certain standard of education was compulsory nationally - a change from English practice and earlier Bills.

²³ Ibid Preamble and Clause 78.

²⁴ Ibid Clause 55.

²⁵ Ibid Clause 56.

²⁶ Ibid Clause 60, sections 1 and 2.

²⁷ Ibid Clause 72.

As a sop to strong Scottish feelings, Lord Advocate Young added as late as June 1872²⁸ a clause setting up a Board of Education, based in Edinburgh, with Scottish personnel. However, instead of elected Scottish representatives, as the Town Councils had hoped, the members were to be Crown nominees. Dr. Lyon Playfair showed his disapproval of this body by refusing an invitation to serve upon it.²⁹

Finally, encouragement for a truly national, and not denominational, system of education was given by a clause explicitly excluding local rate support of denominational schools. On the other hand, the interests of non-Presbyterian denominations were not ignored. While they were excluded from rate support, they were guaranteed parliamentary grants under Clause 67, 2(b).

The Act was generally appreciated by Scottish Dissenters and members of the teaching profession. Furthermore, unlike other measures, the Bill was not hacked to pieces in the House of Lords. The Bill was not greatly debated and passed through in five days. One man's wish:

that the House of Lords will not mangle and eviscerate
it [the Bill] as they have the Ballot Bill³⁰

came true.

Between 1869 and 1872 it is possible to see the way in which a Government responded to pressures both inside and outside Parliament, and adapted legislation accordingly. Partly, of course, the changes in suggested legislation were the result of a need to tidy up loose ends - the school board electorate was an example. However, the case with which the Government

²⁸ Hansard, 1872, vol. ccxi, June 3rd, c 1065.

²⁹ SRO LAP Box 20, Bundle 1. W.E.G. (Sic) to Lord Advocate 17/8/1872.

³⁰ SRO LAP Box 20, Bundle 1. Dr. McGregor (Stranraer Academy) to Lord Advocate, 28/6/1872.

was willing to accept changes demanded by external forces suggests a combination of two factors. Firstly, that Gladstone's administration was not very deeply concerned about Scottish education; and secondly, that the man in charge of drafting this legislation, George Young, was closely in touch with public opinion in Scotland, and responsive to it.

Of what groups was "public opinion" in Scotland composed? One might expect the newly enfranchised working class voter to make his opinion felt at this time. Despite this, he is conspicuous by his absence - at least as far as Scottish education was concerned. The issue of education failed to arouse any enthusiasm among the organised working class (i.e. those who were in trade unions. They were skilled workers, who would mostly be enfranchised by the 1867 Act.). A few working class voters may have been active in the National League, but this movement did not have mass support in Scotland. In February 1870, a meeting to set up a branch of the League was held in Glasgow. Robert Applegarth of Junta fame, Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, was a member of the platform party. However, there is no other recorded meeting of the League, so far as it has been possible to ascertain, until the following year, when the North British Daily Mail reported with some satisfaction "a very thin meeting"³¹ of working men who favoured the Bill of that year. There were a few isolated voices - a conference of Scottish trade unionists³² and a sub-committee of Glasgow Trades Council³³ - but in general the working class was silent on the issue. The former meeting heard a paper from Mr. Boa of Glasgow Trades

³¹ NBDM 16/3/71.

³² Edinburgh Evening Courant 12/2/70.

³³ NBDM 7/3/72.

Council, including recommendations for free, rate-aided unsectarian education, attendance being enforced by a compulsory clause. It so happened that the last three suggestions were eventually part of the 1872 Act, but this does not seem to be because of trade union agitation, as this meeting appears to have been an isolated one, not the precursor of an organised campaign for these recommendations.

No Memorial or Petition was received by the Lord Advocate on the matter of Scottish education from any trade union or trades council - and this despite a veritable torrent of petitions from other sources. Even though there was a little local activity, its silence as far as the administration was concerned, means that we cannot in any way consider working class opinion as shaping the Act. Reasons for this silence remain unclear - after all, the children most concerned were those of the working class - but it may be suggested that the organised working class was too busy with more immediately vital issues, like the Criminal Law Amendment Act, and the Ballot Act, to have any time to spare for education.

To discover public opinion, we must therefore look outside the working class. Four main groups put forward their views and demands for Scottish education. First came the Scottish M.P.'s, who were themselves influenced by public opinion. Next, as might be expected, the various denominations were vociferous on the subject. Third came the Town Councils. Lastly, a number of individual schoolmasters and various teachers' associations played a prominent part in determining both the form of the Bill and its safeguards for teachers.

All these groups were, broadly speaking, middle class, and this had a bearing on the type of Act finally evolved. The Education Act was, after all, intended to set up national elementary schools for mostly working class children. The class of people who were most involved in shaping the new Act meant that education developed as something done to the working class, not

something that the working class arranged itself.

Despite all arguments to the contrary at the time, it does seem that elementary education was regarded by the middle class as a form of social control. While this aspect was glossed over in Parliamentary debates - it would hardly help an M.P. supported partly by working class voters to voice such opinions - there was less necessity for caution in reports or in correspondence. In 1844, a witness to the Poor Law Inquiry remarked:

In Kilmarnock the more the money that is devoted to the proper, moral and religious instruction of the children of the lower classes, the less is afterwards required for the support of jails and bridewells, hospitals and poorhouses.³⁴

Education could not only save society the expense of supporting young criminals. It could also save the employer from damaging strikes:

James Cowper, Esq., partner in the Caledonian Pottery, Glasgow ... Has had experience of strikes, and ever found the educated more alive to reason ... The educated man can more easily comprehend improvements, and are not so jealous of them, if good reason be given.³⁵

In 1870, the then Lord Advocate, James Moncrieff told a public meeting in Glasgow:

Allow no man to employ a child without a certificate from the ... school inspector. Fine the parents if they don't obey the law. Send the police, if you like, to collar the boys and drag them to school. Better that than dragging them to jail. I have no fears whatever of the liberties of the subject. The liberty of the subject is no liberty to breed and bring up rogues and vagabonds to afflict the country and fill its prisons.³⁶

Pious talk by M.P.'s on the great antiquity of national education in Scotland, and the need to extend its benefits to all children, concealed

³⁴ PP 1844, XXVI, p. 159.

³⁵ PP 1843, XV, p. I 67 - Children's Employment Commission, Part 2.

³⁶ Scotsman 16/2/70.

real motives quite effectively. It might be argued that Moncrieff's was an isolated voice by the later 1860's, that the political climate had changed from that of the 1840's, when people were quite willing to talk openly of social control. However, even the inspectorate occasionally wrote in such terms. In 1862, John Gordon, Church of Scotland inspector for central and western Scotland wrote that he hoped from education:

prompt obedience, where obedience is due, the punctual observance of all rules, the well-regulated emulation, the cheerful application to every task. These are habits that reach beyond the school-room, and remain, if they are but fairly dealt with, to influence the future conduct in life.³⁷

Ten years later, HMI Dr. Kerr hoped that education would "produce a growth of peace-loving citizens instead of political firebrands."³⁸ Even as late as 1876, HMI Mr. Dey believed that the 1872 Act: "must in time greatly diminish pauperism and crime, by elevating the sentiments and tastes of the people."³⁹ In the same year, HMI Mr. Ross saw the object of elementary schools:

to bring back a large part of the working classes from the waste and ruin of the public house to the comfort of family life, and to check the swelling of the criminal lists.⁴⁰

Nor, indeed, were Scottish M.P.'s, or any M.P.'s for that matter, the ones to talk glowingly of the benefits of a Parochial education. The old picture of the "lad o' pairts" climbing up the ladder of success might, just possibly, have applied to other groups in Scottish society; it certainly did not apply to M.P.'s. Of the 38 Scottish M.P.'s who spoke on education in 1872, less than one-third (12) had a purely Scottish education - and none of these was educated in a Parochial school.⁴¹ So much for the backgrounds of M.P.'s!

³⁷ PP 1862, XLI, Gordon p. 217.

³⁸ PP 1872, XXII, Kerr p. 93.

³⁹ PP 1876, XXV, Dey p. 132.

⁴⁰ Ibid, Ross pp. 162-3.

⁴¹ Information given by G. Monies.

Party affiliations seem to have dictated attitudes towards the various Education Bills and the Act itself. It was no accident that the Opposition, then the party of the Established Church, should have struggled so hard against a measure which effectively deprived the Church of Scotland of its control over Scottish education. It is interesting to note that the Bill which, by 1872, the Opposition said they preferred, was that of 1869, which left control firmly in the hands of the Establishment. Moncrieff could indeed feel a certain ironic satisfaction in the outcome.

It would, however, be wrong to suggest that the Government side of the House gave each draft its hearty support. There was a certain amount of back-bench discontent - often from the radicals who thought that Government legislation did not go far enough. Dr. Lyon Playfair had considerable reservations on a number of occasions, which he stifled only by considering that the state of Scottish education made it imperative that an Act must be passed to deal with at least some of the problems. Myers suggests⁴² that few Scottish Liberals spoke on the Bill because they had doubts about the measure and were restrained by the short rein on which Young held them.

Whether or not the Act was an election issue is difficult to say. It was a piece of mid-term legislation. The only pointer is the bye-election at Aberdeen in June 1872. The favourite was the Radical, Barclay, who supported secular education. Shaw, the Conservative candidate, also favoured the Bill, but demanded safeguards for religious education. The last candidate, Farley Leith (Liberal), said that he had only agreed to stand (and risk splitting the Liberal vote) because a petition begging him to stand had been signed by 3,000 people. He declared his support for both the Ballot and Education Bills, but added that he

⁴² Myers, op cit p. 413.

certainly would have liked the Education Bill better had there been a clause in that Bill enforcing the reading of the Bible.⁴³

The election result was: Leith - 4045 votes; Barclay - 2407; Shaw - 663.

The issue did not, however, seem to generate much heat - 7,115 votes were cast by an electorate of 14,000.⁴⁴

This apparent indifference to education was not a characteristic of the religious denominations. There were five main groups; the Established Church, the Free Church, the Roman Catholic, the United Presbyterian, and the Episcopalian. Each sect had its own schools, aided by the Privy Council. The exception was the United Presbyterian Church which maintained a number of urban mission schools, but refused Government aid on the principle that the State had no right to interfere in religious education.

The Church of Scotland controlled the largest single group of schools (over 1,600 of 4,451 schools),* but this was far less than half of the total. It was perhaps because the Established Church already felt on the defensive that she fought so strenuously against the Bill. There was also a suspicion that this was the thin end of the wedge - loss of schools first; disestablishment next. Hence the fierce attacks on the Bills by the Established Church. The Bill of 1872 was assailed from the pulpit, at public meetings, at the General Assembly, in the Press, and, of course, in Parliament. Occasionally distortions of the Bill were put about:

the Parish Minister of Kilbride ... repeatedly described the Petition [In favour of the Bill] from the pulpit as 'against the Bible in the schools'.⁴⁵

In 1871, George Young was warned by his Wigtonshire agent,

⁴³ Edinburgh Evening Courant 27/6/72.

⁴⁴ Ibid 1/7/72.

⁴⁵ SRO LAP Box 20, Bundle 1, Rev. H. Munro, Kilmory Free Church, Arran to Lord Advocate, 2/4/1872.

* See Table 1.

I believe another Petition has been got up, under the orders of the Established Church and to it, all and sundry will adhere their names who are under the influence of the clergymen of the Parish or the local landowners.⁴⁶

There was, as always, the exception to the rule - J.M. Darling wrote to A.C. Sellar from Biggar to say:

though a student of the Established Church, my sympathy, insignificant as it is - has gone along with the Lord Advocate.⁴⁷

Other denominations had their internal differences, and these were often much fiercer than those within the Established Church. It is always easier to agree on a blanket condemnation than on a measure of reform. This controversy was particularly noticeable in the United Presbyterian Church. Argument raged - both in Synod meetings and in letters to the newspapers - around the issue of religious education. Dr. Taylor, himself of the U.P. wrote to Young criticising,

Two or three Voluntary Educationists who are opposed to all systems of national education as a matter of course.⁴⁸

Arguments were more muted in the Free Kirk - as befitted a daughter of the Established Church, similar in all but administration to her parent. Internal unity could be strengthened by a common enemy. Dr. Rainy of the Free Church affirmed (and was confident of the tacit support of Established Churchmen),

It was notorious that when a school was started, if the Bible and Shorter Catechism were not taught, it did not thrive.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ SRO LAP Box 18, Bundle 3, G. Mair to Lord Advocate 8/3/1871.

⁴⁷ SRO LAP Box 20, Bundle 1, J.M. Darling, Biggar to A.C. Sellar, 13/5/1872.

⁴⁸ SRO LAP Box 19, Bundle 2, Dr. Taylor to Lord Advocate, 13/2/1872.

⁴⁹ Scotsman 28/5/70.

On the other side, Henry Renton of the U.P. Church stated categorically,

We deny it to be within the legitimate province of the state to provide for the religious instruction of the subject.⁵⁰

Relations were not improved when the United Presbyterians pointed out that they were not against religious instruction as such, if given by the parents or clergy. The Free Church, in the person of Dr. Begg complained,

ministers had no time, overburdened as they were with other work, to go to the schools day by day and teach religion to the children.⁵¹

Perhaps it was all a matter of priorities.

The other denominations, the Roman Catholics and the Episcopalians lay very low over the whole issue of education. The Roman Catholics sent only a single petition to the Lord Advocate and were silent in the national Press at least. This sole Catholic petition was not from the hierarchy, but from Young's own Roman Catholic constituents in Stranraer. They asked only that denominational education should be safeguarded.⁵² Perhaps they felt that their right to educate their own children was precarious enough as it was, without drawing attention to themselves. Furthermore, since the Roman Catholic Church, as a denominational body, intended to stay outside the national system it had no urgent reason to make its voice heard.

The Episcopalians, with the exception of three letters to the Lord Advocate, also remained silent. They were in a similar position to the Roman Catholics. Generally, they were in favour of Young's measure:

I sh^d wish you to tell the Lord Advocate that the Episcopalians think he has entirely fulfilled his promises to them, and that they are much satisfied. Moncrieff w^d have given us much worse terms and so w^d the Duke of Argyll.⁵³

⁵⁰ Scotsman 30/5/70.

⁵¹ Scotsman 28/5/70.

⁵² SRO LAP Box 18, Bundle 1, Petition dated 4/4/1870.

⁵³ SRO LAP Box 20, Bundle 1. W. Forbes, Board of Lunacy, Edinburgh, to A.C. Sellar, 9/7/1872.

The Town Councils were in favour of the post-Argyll Bills. The bulk of Petitions and Memorials came in 1870 - there were 26 in that year, and only 5 in 1871. All followed the same lines - that of a Memorial presented by Edinburgh Town Council. The Resolution from Galashiels Town Council was typical. It called for a

Bill to establish, regulate, and enforce a National System of Education in Scotland, free from and unconnected with any Sectarian or denominational system

and for

a general Board of Education in Scotland which would be elected by public bodies elected by popular representation, or by Local Committees, grouped for that purpose, and whose Meetings should be held in public.⁵⁴

The broad outlines of the Bills of 1871 and 1872 were accepted by the Town Councils; any later correspondence concerned anomalies or problems that faced individual Town Councils.

However, some public bodies were not in favour of the Lord Advocate's proposals. Three Memorials by the Commissioners of Supply in the Counties were critical - this was only to be expected in areas where the Tories remained strong. On occasion, this Tory opposition found strange allies. A.

Macgregor of Stranraer told the Lord Advocate of

a motley group of Tory Churchmen and blatant dissatisfied Dissenters.⁵⁵

It was easier to choose one's enemies than allies.

The Tories found some even more unexpected helpers. The parochial schoolmasters, many of whom, since they were enfranchised in 1832, had favoured the Liberals,⁵⁶ found some common ground with their old antagonists. As a result, the Lord Advocate's office was bombarded with indignant letters

⁵⁴ SRO LAP Box 18, Bundle 1, Town Clerk to Lord Advocate, 4/2/1870.

⁵⁵ SRO LAP Box 19, Bundle 2, A. Macgregor, Stranraer, to Lord Advocate, 26/2/1872.

⁵⁶ SRO LAP Box 19, Bundle 2, J.D. Baillie, Stranraer, Secretary to Lord Advocate, 25/3/1872.

from schoolmasters and from such bodies as the Central Association of Parochial Schoolmasters. Almost all complained of the low salaries proposed, feared future insecurity of tenure, and demanded that present incumbents should ex officio be recognised as Certificated. Similar complaints came from the Educational Institute of Scotland, at that time largely connected with urban schools, and containing within its ranks a large proportion of graduates. A number of Free Church Associations of Schoolmasters also expressed reservations - though they did soften their criticism by adding that otherwise they were in favour of the Bills. One or two unexpected points were raised in the course of this correspondence. One teacher pointed out

the majority of teachers are uncertificated, for the simple reason that they have never been in connection with schools of the class that required Government aid - or allowed by their managers to accept of it.⁵⁷

This suggests that schoolmasters had no principled objection to Certification or Government inspection. It was merely that they did not wish their present position to be endangered. The EIS, after all, had set up a rather exacting standard for those who wished to join their number. On the other hand, the Institute allowed those who had joined in the first year of its existence to be recognised as fully-fledged members.⁵⁸ As a result, it was possible for the Lord Advocate to gain at least grudging support in return for concessions. Indeed, the teachers got almost all they asked for in the new Act. Not all were conciliated, however. William Ronald, schoolmaster of the Cabrach (Banff),

was fiercely opposed to the Education Act of 1873 [sic] and when he was retiring ... said that he was not sorry to go, as it seemed to him a queer thing that the educated should be ruled by the uneducated.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ SRO LAP Box 18, Bundle 3, R. Hogg, Newton St. Boswells, to Lord Advocate, 15/3/71.

⁵⁸ Myers, op cit pp. 227-8.

⁵⁹ W. Barclay: The Schools and Schoolmasters of Banffshire, (1925) p. 209.

It is evident from this chapter that the Lord Advocate was very closely concerned with the passing of the Education Act of 1872. One commentator has suggested that

the Lord Advocate, in fact, was the political dictator of Scotland,⁶⁰

but if so, he was unusually sensitive to public opinion. The effect of this attentiveness can be seen in the various drafts of Education Bills introduced by Young. A.C. Sellar, who was Young's legal secretary at the period of the passing of the Act said later that,

The Act was the work of one man alone and unaided⁶¹

but this one man was not afraid to incorporate into his Bill suggestions made by others. Indeed, while Young was in office, there seemed little to fear from the perennial Scottish bogey - control of Scottish education by ignorant Englishmen. Though Young introduced his Bill in 1872 along with Henry Bruce and Edward Forster, there is no evidence in his correspondence that he was harrassed by them. There exists in his correspondence only one letter from Forster and one from Gladstone on the subject of Scottish education - and neither contains more than polite good wishes for the success of his measure. No doubt Young discussed the Bill with other members of the Government; there is no reason to suppose he was unduly influenced by English pressure.

We may conclude that Lord Advocate Young was amenable to suggestion from Scotland. He kept a very careful list⁶² of all Petitions on the

⁶⁰ W.E. Baxter, M.P. for Dundee. Quoted by H.J. Hanham, 'The Creation of the Scottish Office, 1881-87', Juridical Review, 1965, Part 3 p. 239.

⁶¹ A.C. Sellar: Scotch educational progress, 1864-1887. An address delivered at the opening of the Hamilton Crescent public school ... 27th May, 1887 (Glasgow, 1887) p. 5.

⁶² SRO LAP Box 19, Bundle 2, Notes on the Education (Scotland) Bill 12/2/1872.

1872 Bill. The score was:

Against:	150 Petitions with 28,043 signatures;
In favour:	71 Petitions with 3,796 signatures;
In favour, but suggesting changes:	1,633 Petitions with 218,354 signatures.

Given this proof of Scottish feeling, it is not surprising that he should have followed so closely the suggestions made to him.

The Act, of course, remained a party measure, so not all sections of public opinion were satisfied. It did take away legal control of Scottish education from the Established Church. Most Scottish Dissenters were well pleased - they had had to accept the jurisdiction of the local School Boards on religious instruction, but the way was open to them to contest School Board elections. If they failed to be elected, they would still be safeguarded by the Conscience Clause and the Time-Table Clause. Radicals could take some pleasure from the £4 property qualification on voting, which was lower than that set by the Second Reform Act for Parliamentary elections. On the other hand, as will be shown later, this was not the concession that it at first appeared. The Town Councils found that their main demand - for a Board of Education of Scotland - was honoured, though only for a limited time, and with Crown nominees.

Teachers also had cause for satisfaction. Security of tenure and of pension rights was granted to present incumbents; appeal and open trial was allowed for teachers accused of inefficiency. On the other hand, de facto Certification was reserved for those who were principal teachers in schools under any previous Acts, or for burgh school teachers who were also Members of Council of a Scottish University. Assistant teachers in parochial schools and non-graduate burgh teachers were required to obtain a Certificate of Competency.

In this way, the Lord Advocate managed to conciliate almost all sections of opinion in Scotland. Few got exactly what they wanted, but most were content with the compromise.

Finally, a brief look at the significance of the 1872 Education Act. Its importance lies on two levels. Firstly, the actual terms of the Act meant that at last an entirely national education system had been set up with local control, and unified inspection and standards. As well as the Scotch Education Department (a Committee of the Privy Council), a Board of Education based in Edinburgh was set up to function for a certain number of years. This time limit was probably just as well, since friction between the SED and the Board occurred almost immediately. In December 1872, Young sent a stinging rebuke to Rev. Dr. Taylor, Secretary to the Board:

The Lord Advocate must express his regret that the Board should not have thought fit to submit the Rules and Directions for School Board elections to the Department for their consideration before being finally approved by the Board. They have not in fact been considered by the Department or any of its members, and the Lord Advocate for one is unable to participate in the satisfaction with them which he understands from you has been expressed by Sir F. Sandford.⁶³

On the second level, the passing of the Act is important for the insight which it gives into the Government concerned. The enormous load of legislation undertaken by the Liberal Government in its years in office and the paucity of Parliamentary comment on the measure serve to put it in its proper perspective. The 1872 Act may have been crucial for Scottish education, but as far as Gladstone's administration was concerned, it was overshadowed by measures like the Ballot Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act. For the Cabinet, the Act of 1872 brought Scotland tidily into line with England and completed nineteenth century Parliamentary control over social welfare in Britain.

⁶³ SRO LAP Box 20, Bundle 1, Lord Advocate to Rev. Dr. Taylor 23/12/1872.

Finally, the Act provides a fascinating picture of the range of opinion within Scotland, and the flexibility of the Lord Advocate in conciliating it. This may have been an Act which in effect was imposed on the working class because of their indifference; those members of the middle class involved - the churches, the teachers, and the Town Councils - had made their opinions heard, and seen them taken into account.

CHAPTER 3

THE EFFECT OF THE 1872 ACT ON SCHOOL ORGANISATION

An Act to amend and extend the provisions of the Law of Scotland on the subject of Education ... in such manner that the means of procuring efficient education for their children may be furnished and made available to the whole people of Scotland.¹

Was the Act of 1872 really such a watershed in Scottish education as the Preamble suggested? Did 1872 mark a complete break with the past, or was it merely a milestone on the long road to universal literacy? Did 1872 mean that the centralisers were successful, that the old hodge-podge of expedients, built up over the earlier part of the century to deal with illiteracy, had finally fallen to a neat, tidy scheme, based mainly on the English model? Or was the Scottish "system" of education hardy enough to assimilate more efficient methods and still have a distinctive flavour of its own? An examination of school organisation in the decade before 1872 and in the years up to 1899, will, I think, give some valuable pointers to the solution of the problem. Close attention both to local conditions, and to political movements not directly related to education, will also be necessary to elucidate some sort of pattern.

A number of facets of school organisation were affected by the Act of 1872. Firstly, the overall system of school organisation was transformed. The denominational chaos of the '60's was replaced by a national system with a unified inspectorate. Secondly, in keeping with a national system of education, denominational bias was carefully excluded. Public schools were Christian, but not sectarian. (The position of the denominational voluntary schools will be examined later). This was accomplished by the exclusion of

¹ Education (Scotland) Act, 1872, Preamble.

religious instruction from government inspection² and by a 'time-table' clause,³ defining the times when religious education could be taught. This was not the only curricular change. There was a greater emphasis on elementary instruction,⁴ and hence on sensible time-tabling - one part of the government grant was earmarked for Organisation and Discipline.⁵ However, as will be shown later, this did not mean the exclusion of more advanced instruction.⁶ Fourthly, in keeping with a unified system of education, a national standard of teacher qualification was demanded.⁷ Finally, and most important of all, attendance at school up to a certain minimum educational standard became compulsory.⁸

The 1872 Education (Scotland) Act demanded, as the Preamble suggests, the setting up of a truly national system of education for all Scottish children. In keeping with this aim, national education was to be compulsory and non-denominational. No child was to slip through to grow up illiterate, non-sectarian education stilled the fears of indoctrination in religion. That was the theory behind the Act. How did it work out in practice?

Although the Act had a direct bearing on certain parts of school organisation, it was not the sole determining factor. In some fields, the Codes and Minutes of the Scotch Education Department, and a number of amending

² Ibid Section 66.

³ Ibid Section 68

⁴ Code of 1872, Article 6(c).

⁵ Ibid 19 A 3.

⁶ Ibid Section 21 - Specific Subjects.

⁷ Education (Scotland) Act 1872, Section 56.

⁸ Ibid Section 69.

Acts, were of equal importance. The fact that Codes and Minutes were not generally the subject of Parliamentary debate meant that the Scotch Education Department (hereafter the SED) had a measure of freedom of action, so much so in some cases, that contemporaries were driven to ask who actually controlled Scottish education. Such areas of school organisation as fees and accommodation were particularly influenced by these factors. The same applied to curricular amendments and particularly to methods of inspection. Finally, the influence of practical experience and local conditions must also be explored. How did central government bureaucrats react when faced with the occasional bloody-minded local school board or faction thereof?

Section 1. The 1872 Act and Religious Education

There can be no doubt that in one sense, the Act of 1872 did mark a decisive break with the past. Public, non-denominational schools became the rule, and not the exception. They were national in a way that the parochial schools, controlled as they were by a Church that could no longer rightfully claim to be the Church of Scotland, had not been at least in the years since 1843. After 1872 in theory at least, the people of the school districts, and not merely the heritors, decided what type of religious instruction should be given in the schools. Furthermore, the inspectors had the right to enter any school in receipt of a government grant and to report on the quality of teaching there. After 1872, the inspectors no longer concerned themselves with the standard of religious education. Reports such as this, by John Hall, Inspector of Church of Scotland schools in western Scotland, that the Catechism, while well-known, has merely "the accuracy of rote"⁹ do not occur after 1872.

Despite the new ruling concerning non-denominational inspection, the people who acted as Inspectors were the same after as before 1872. Woodford

⁹ PP 1868-9 XX, Hall p. 352.

and Middleton had been responsible for the schools of the Established Church, while Wilson and Cumming inspected those of the Free Kirk. One might, therefore, suppose that there would be a certain latent sectarian bias in reports after the new Act. This was not the case, at least as far as the printed reports of the SED were concerned. The voluntary schools, being in receipt of government grants were also open to inspection. Some aspects of these schools were undoubtedly criticised by the inspectorate. It was noted that Roman Catholic schools did less well than board schools in the Class Subjects,¹⁰ but on the same page, HMI of Schools Mr. King pointed out that this was due to the lack of fully trained teachers in Catholic schools - a situation arising from the lack of a Catholic training college in Scotland. At an earlier date, Ross had this to say of the Catholic schools he inspected

these schools deserve an honourable place. I have been uniformly strict with them, as with other schools, and outspoken in touching their defects. The priests are intelligent, energetic, and fair managers. In the matter of discipline I rate these schools highly; in general intelligence they are low.¹¹

There is little hint of bias here - just what seems to be a balanced judgment.

Thus far, it may confidently be argued that the agents of central authority were free from religious bias, at least as far as assessment of a school for a grant was concerned. Was the same true of the local authorities, the school boards? The Act demanded that religious education be given, according to the use and wont of the district or parish. Two questions arise here. Firstly, was the Act complied with, even though religious education no longer earned a grant for the school? Secondly, was there any evidence of religious proselytism in board schools? School board records are of help here.

¹⁰ PP 1889 XXXII, King p. 220.

¹¹ PP 1876 XXV, Ross pp. 155-6.

In general, there seems to have been very little reluctance to comply with this part of the Act. No instances of refusal to implement the "time-table clause" were discovered. On the other hand, there were differences in the time given up to religious instruction. Ancrum school board arranged for daily prayer and praise, but confined religious instruction to one and a half hours on Mondays.¹² Creich school board had a daily prayer, and religious instruction timetabled for the first hour of the day.¹³ Religious instruction in Kiltarlity in Invernessshire was confined to the first half hour of the day.¹⁴ Later on, the exigencies of payment by results of secular work, meant that religious instruction sometimes came well down on the list of priorities. Castleton school board in Roxburghshire laid down that there was to be religious instruction in the first half hour of the school day - except for the six weeks before inspection.¹⁵ One Ayrshire teacher went so far as to omit religious instruction altogether on the grounds of shortage of staff, but was censured for this by his school board.¹⁶ These were isolated cases however. One Ayrshire board minuted the religious curriculum it expected to be taught in its schools.¹⁷ The scheme included, for the Infants: The Creation, Fall, Deluge, Joseph, and the Early Life of Christ. They also had to memorise Psalm 23 or Paraphrase 2 and the Lord's Prayer. The religious time-table expanded until, by Standard VI, it included: Kings and Chronicles and the Acts - geography and history. Pupils had to memorise Psalms 104, 107, St. John Chapter 17, and the Shorter Catechism. They were further expected to give the proofs and analysis of the first thirty eight tenets of belief. It was not surprising that some school boards, like that

¹² RCC Ancrum SB Minutes, 5/9/1873.

¹³ SCC Creich SB Minutes, 8/7/1873.

¹⁴ ICC Kiltarlity SB Minutes, 29/9/1873. ¹⁵ RCC Castleton, SB Minutes 4/7/1894.

¹⁶ ACC Old Cumnock SB Minutes, 3/2/1881 - Garallan school.

¹⁷ ACC Muirkirk SB Minutes, 6/9/1876.

of Hobkirk, merely desired religious memory work, without any comments.¹⁸

There was another reason for this. Though there is no evidence that the "time-table clause" was evaded, there was some doubt in a few areas about the "use and wont" section of the Act. It was perfectly easy to observe where the Established or Free Kirks were dominant, or where there was a substantial Catholic element. The Shorter Catechism was taught, and those pupils who did not doctrinally conform, were excused. Difficulties arose where there were dissenting Presbyterian congregations like the United Presbyterians. The United Presbyterians were opposed to any religious instruction which might conceivably have been financed by public money. Where the UP Church was strong enough to elect one or more representatives on to a school board, there were instances of conflict over religious instruction. The election of the Rev. John Page Hopps, who had campaigned for wholly secular education, to Glasgow school board in 1873 and 1876 meant that board meetings were subject to frequent divisions on religious instruction. Indeed, this appears to have been the only bone of contention in the first two boards. Hopps protested at the very first meeting of the board because the proceedings were opened with a prayer.¹⁹ He protested on three more occasions during 1873,²⁰ and in 1874 he moved that religious instruction be regarded as an extra in the curriculum, so that parents could specifically pay for it. Religious instruction should not be financed by the school rate.²¹ He moved in the same terms in 1876.²² Not all members of the UP were as persistent as Hopps. A former moderator of that Church, the Rev. Henry Renton, made only one token protest at Kelso school board.²³

¹⁸ RCC Hobkirk SB Minutes, 21/10/1873. ¹⁹ Glasgow SB Minutes, 8/4/1873.

²⁰ Glasgow SB Minutes, 5/9/1873; 13/10/1873; 8/12/1873.

²¹ Ibid, 21/7/1874.

²² Ibid, 14/2/1876.

²³ RCC Kelso SB Minutes, 7/5/1873.

He was soundly defeated, but had at least made a stand. The board confirmed that the "time-table clause" should be adhered to.²⁴ There was a further Roxburghshire protest by a UP member, at St. Boswells school board.²⁵ On the other hand, in a contiguous parish, Lilliesleaf, where there was a strong UP congregation, and where at least one UP member, the minister, was elected, there seems to have been no formal protest. Possibly the "time-table clause" was felt to be sufficient safeguard. Careful reading of school board records shows no instances of UP protest about the use and wont section of the Act after 1878. It seems fairly certain therefore, that some sort of *modus vivendi* was achieved among the Protestant congregations of Scotland.

How well-observed were the use and wont and "time-table" sections of the Act where there was a substantial Roman Catholic population, even in some areas, a majority of the people? Glasgow school board records show no friction at all; indeed a very cordial relationship existed. This will be discussed further in the Chapter on denominational and voluntary Schools. For the Highlands and Islands, the most useful source for elucidating the incidence of religious discrimination, if any, was found to be the Napier Commission. The Commissioners examining the seven crofting counties were on the alert for any overt religious discrimination which they felt might contribute to the difficult situation in that area. The conscience clause worked well, it appeared, in South Uist and Barra, where the bulk of the people were Roman Catholic. There was, however, evidence of discrimination in the hiring of teachers. The Rev. Roderick Macdonald, Church of Scotland minister in South Uist, where the vast majority of the crofters were Roman Catholic, neatly rationalised his opposition to the use of "Protestant" money for Roman Catholic teachers on the grounds that

²⁴ Ibid, 8/10/1873.

²⁵ RCC St. Boswells SB Minutes, 30/9/1873.

the Catholics pay only a small fraction, about one-fifth of the rates.²⁶

Not a single piece of evidence, however, was given to the Commissioners to suggest that there was any proselytism in the public schools. The 1872 Act did indeed produce in the public schools of the country a non-sectarian education. The misgivings of minority denominations prior to, and immediately after the Act, had no real foundation. It may, possibly, have been their reservations which prompted a truly non-denominational education, but it does seem that here at least theory and practice were one.

One last point remains to be explored in this section. How did religious education actually function after 1872? We have already seen the terrifying syllabus offered to Muirkirk pupils, and noted also that under some boards, like Ancrum and Hobkirk, religious education was something of a formality. It has also been emphasised that this subject was no longer the business of the HMI's. Religious instruction was apparently the concern solely of the teachers. However, a number of school boards were anxious to see that this duty was regularly and diligently carried out. Normal practice seems to have varied. Some boards delegated to one or more school board members the responsibility of examining the state of religious knowledge in board schools. This was what happened at Muirkirk, Glasgow, St. Boswells, Hawick, Hobkirk and Old Cumnock.²⁷ Others had their religious instruction examined by a Church of Scotland minister, often one who was not on the local board. Ancrum, Dalmellington, and Hawick (again),²⁸ practised this method.

²⁶ The Napier Commission (hereafter NC) PP 1884, XXXII, Appendix A, p. 115. The sevencrofting counties were Argyll, Caithness, Inverness, Orkney, Shetland, Ross and Cromarty, and Sutherland.

²⁷ RCC Muirkirk SB Minutes, 12/5/1876; Old Cumnock SB Minutes, 15/6/1898; Glasgow SB Committee Minute 12/4/1888. One of ten Committees; RCC Hawick SB Committee Minutes, 5/6/1876; St. Boswells SB Minutes 14/7/1881; Hobkirk SB Minutes, 25/4/1888.

²⁸ RCC Ancrum SB Minutes, 27/1/1886; Hawick SB Committee Minutes, 26/4/1892 ACC Dalmellington SB Minutes, 13/3/1884.

Others, more formally, and more expensively (the average donation was £1) had their religious instruction examined by the Church of Scotland Association for Promoting Religious Instruction. This body seems to have been especially popular in Ayrshire, where Dalrymple, Kirkoswald, Muirkirk, (again), and St. Quivox²⁹ school boards accepted the Association's inspectors. A similar body appears to have functioned also in Roxburghshire, Sutherland, and Invernessshire, where board schools were inspected at Hobkirk, Kirkhill, and Loth.³⁰ The fact that school boards like Hobkirk and Hawick used different methods of inspection of religious education at different times, suggests that the important thing for the boards was to see that this subject was diligently taught; who examined it was of less consequence. It is difficult to discern any pattern in the manner of inspection. The only tenuous link seems to be that the larger centres of population, like Glasgow, Hawick, Muirkirk, and Old Cumnock (all with seven or more school board members) were more willing to inspect religious instruction themselves. However, this generalisation breaks down in the case of Hobkirk, and St. Boswells. We can only say with certainty that the public schools of Scotland, while offering non-denominational instruction, safeguarded by conscience and time-table clauses, also were emphatically Christian.

Section 2. Inspectors, Inspection, and the Act of 1872.

It has been mentioned briefly in Section 1 that there was continuity of personnel in the inspectorate after 1872. This did not apparently, make for any sectarian bias. However, HMI's were now dealing not with relatively

²⁹ ACC Dalrymple SB Minutes 2/3/1878; Kirkoswald SB Minutes, 5/3/1881
Muirkirk SB Minutes, 14/2/1890; St. Quivox SB Minutes, 7/3/1893.

³⁰ RCC Hobkirk SB Minutes, 27/2/1878; ICC Kirkhill SB Minutes, 17/8/1883
SCC Loth SB Minutes, 9/3/1878.

small congregational groups, but with duly-elected local representatives, sometimes, as in the case of Glasgow, in charge of the education of very large numbers of children. How did the system of inspection, and the men, stand up to the new situation?

The inspectorate had very great power over local Scottish education in the years between 1872 and 1886. Government grants to School board schools were available only after a detailed individual inspection of the educational standard of all the older pupils and many of the infants, and were also dependent on the physical condition of the school, and the staff/pupil ratio. Curriculum, accomodation and staffing will all be discussed in later sections. Here the emphasis will be on the men, and their relationship with local boards.

In such a situation, uniformity of inspection was crucial. No school board ought to feel that the money earned by its schools was dependent on the whims of one man. The SED attempted to achieve uniformity by appointing in 1879 three Chief Inspectors - Hall, Kerr and Wilson, who were to teach new inspectors by their example. This also reflects the greatly increased volume of work after 1872. They were not to exercise minute supervision over their colleagues, but were to attempt to

secure as much uniformity as possible in the standard of examination of schools in the same class, in order that the Parliamentary grant may be fairly administered; and, at the same time, to satisfy school boards and school managers ... that the results of their efforts are judged and criticised on principles which are based on official experience and long acquaintance with schools.³¹

Referring back to the previous section, it is significant that the Department felt no need to warn against denominational bias.

However, inspectors were only human, and like everyone else, had

³¹ PP 1878-9, XXV, Circular 41.

their little foibles. Despairingly, Mr. Whyte wrote:

The hunting scene from the 'Lady of the Lake' is year by year found in almost every school with such unfailing persistence that the shooting of the stag once for all would be hailed as an unspeakable boon by every jaded examiner.³²

It is interesting that this expression of individuality is found in the report of Chief Inspector Ogilvie, which suggests that the dead hand of bureaucracy did not lie quite so heavily as was once believed.

However other examples of individuality on the part of the inspectorate were less amusing. Bone notes two inspectors who made themselves so obnoxious in their districts that they had to be moved.³³ Judging by their printed Reports, the surprising thing is that they were not moved sooner, and more frequently. John Hall, in his last Report on Ayrshire before he was moved, wrote

I am one of those who think that the Code is better than its critics.³⁴

He may have been right, but could certainly have phrased his comments more tactfully. In his first Report in his new district, Aberdeenshire, he disparagingly compared the standard there to

the extremely creditable performances of the ragged and neglected collier and other children in certain well-remembered parts of Ayrshire within my recollection.³⁵

Again, he may have been correct, but it hardly made for a good initial impression. After Hall left Aberdeenshire, his successor Ogilvie felt impelled to defend his predecessor's judgment. He noted that the supposed educational supremacy of the Dick Bequest area had been

³² PP 1886, XXVII, Whyte p. 239.

³³ F.R. Bone: School Inspection in Scotland: 1840-1966 (1968) p. 103. Hall in Ayrshire, and Dey in South Forfarshire.

³⁴ PP 1878, XXXI, Hall, p. 157.

³⁵ PP 1880, XXIV, Hall, p. 122.

called in question by my predecessor, Mr. Hall, but his views were supposed to be warped by southern prejudice, and he was written down in the local press.³⁶

What is interesting here is not the actual defence of Hall, which was not very forceful, but the fact that Ogilvie felt it necessary in the first place.

Other inspectors, who seem on the face of it to have been as uncomplimentary in their Reports, were not punished by the Department.³⁷ This gives weight to Bone's contention that good personal relations were of great importance between inspector and inspected, and between inspector and school board. It was not what the inspector said that mattered so much, but how he said it.

Although the annual inspection was something of an ordeal for the teacher, whose salary depended at least in part, on the grant earned, it was also an opportunity for the perceptive inspector - as most were - to note the difficulties peculiar to each district. HMI, Mr. Muir, whose district included Shetland, noted "In Shetland when the winter storms were passed the voar or spade husbandry came in."³⁸ He added that he was not too lenient in such situations - the grant depended on the general state of the school - but he noted a further cause of bad examination performance

Children ... have often to be brought back on the day of inspection who for days or weeks previously have been away at work.³⁹

Sime noted an unexpected difficulty attendant on the earning of the grant for singing. In the Butt of Lewis some parents were opposed to "carnal songs" and one teacher had to resign because he accompanied the children on a harmonium!⁴⁰ Lastly, HMI Mr. Stewart pointed out three good reasons why attendance was poor in Banffshire. In that county, a fine of 5 s. for non-

³⁶ PP 1884-5, XXVI, Ogilvie, p. 161.

³⁷ For example, Walker, examining schools in Perthshire, sailed perilously close to defamation when he wrote (PP 1881, XXXIV, Walker, p. 146)
In many, indeed in most school boards in the rural districts, the members are the employers of juvenile labour.

³⁸ PP 1880, XXIV, Muir, p. 149.

³⁹ Ibid, p. 149.

⁴⁰ PP 1882, XXV, Sime, p. 189.

attendance cost 30 s.-40 s. to collect.⁴¹ Secondly, for two months of the year the fathers went off to the fishing, leaving their children to run wild.⁴² Finally, the high percentage of illegitimacy meant that the schools contained numbers of children in very poor condition - Stewart went so far as to describe them as half-starved.⁴³

These quotations suggest that the inspectorate was by no means wholly blinkered by the Act and the Codes. How did their experience affect their assessment of the grants earned by their schools? Domestic Economy became a compulsory Specific Subject for girls. However, some inspectors, like Muir, noted that as a result the girls were at a disadvantage compared with the boys, because they had an extra burden of work imposed on them.⁴⁴ One way round this problem was condemned by Sime as being injurious both to health and education. "It is the custom in not a few schools to make the girls spend the greater part of the dinner hour in serving."⁴⁵ Eventually this imbalance was redressed by the requirement "to assess the work of the girls more leniently than that of the boys."⁴⁶ Even more helpful to the school boards was the observation that some periods in the school year were more suitable for the inspection than others, due to the organisation of the school year and the incidence of agricultural terms. HMI Mr. Kerr noted

A difficulty felt in this as in every district largely rural is the placing of schools in months favourable to inspection. I have no doubt that nine tenths of my schools [in Aberdeenshire] would with good reason, choose February, March, or April. Such choice is, of course, impossible, and many are visited at times when the attendance is smaller and the attainments weaker than average.⁴⁷

⁴¹ P.P. 1883, XXVI, Stewart, p. 178.

⁴² Ibid, p. 178.

⁴³ Ibid, p. 179.

⁴⁴ P.P. 1877 XXXII, Muir p. 126.

⁴⁵ P.P. 1878-9 XXV, Sime p. 222.

⁴⁶ P.P. 1895, XXX, King p. 335.

⁴⁷ P.P. 1878 XXXI, Kerr, p. 173.

Scougal made some allowances for the fact that two fifths of his inspection took place in the "bad months" of October, November and December - times especially bad for the three main towns in his district, Selkirk, Galashiels and Hawick.⁴⁸ Clearly, some inspectors were willing to take local difficulties into account in forming their opinions about the educational worth of a school. The demand that inspection should be as uniform as possible meant that such allowances had to be made, if school boards were not to complain incessantly of injustice even in the very timing of inspector's visits.

Even so, not all inspectors were successful in convincing the local school boards that the findings of an annual inspection were justifiable. St. Boswells School Board had to close one of its schools just before the annual inspection owing to a measles epidemic. The inspection was therefore delayed, and under Section 13 of the Code, the SED was asked to omit inspection for that year, as it would not be fair to the school. However, HMI Mr. Scougal inspected the school in late March, causing the school board to "record their surprise."⁴⁹ That incident was really the fault of the SED, and not the inspector concerned. However, Muirkirk school board was told by one of its otherwise successful teachers, that the reason for poor results from the infants in the inspection of 1883, was that they had been frightened by the inspector.⁵⁰ Some inspectors recognised that nervousness was a problem. Kerr tried always to put the children (and teachers) at ease by cracking a few jokes before he began.⁵¹ Stewart recommended that children become used to the presence of strangers by visits from the local school boards to the classroom. He wrote "It is good for children to become

⁴⁸ PP 1878-9 XXV, Scougal p. 206.

⁴⁹ RCC, St. Boswells SB Minutes 3/3/1874.

⁵⁰ ACC, Muirkirk SB Minutes 15/10/1883.

⁵¹ J. Kerr: Memories, Grave and Gay: Forty Years of School Inspection (1902) p. 37.

accustomed to strangers"⁵² and hoped that this would obviate another difficulty he saw appearing, "a widening gap between the boards and the children". Nor, indeed, were all incidents of disagreement between inspectors and school boards so mild as those referred to above. The fiercely Free Kirk 1879 School board of Clyne in Sutherland carried on a running battle with the SED for a number of years, a battle in which the local inspector Sime, was the most obvious target. In 1880, the Clyne school board wrote

The sooner Established Church Inspectors are removed
from this part, the better for the credit of all parties.⁵³

It should be noted that the real target was not Sime, but the SED, and that this is an example of the difficulties that could face even the fairest of HMI's in their relations with the localities. Sime was never criticised by the other two Sutherland boards also with strong Free Kirk congregations.

In general, however, relations between the local boards and the inspectorate were, if not always cordial, usually on a basis of mutual respect, and the inspectors recommendations were mostly heeded. For example, in February 1882 Old Cumnock school board was told by the inspector to order a change of books in their schools.⁵⁴ In April 1882, new books duly appeared.⁵⁵ A detailed discussion on the role of the inspectorate in encouraging improvements follows in a later section. It may be concluded that it was in the interests of both inspector and local school board that relations should be civilised. The inspector had to visit all schools in his area annually; an antagonised school board would be unwilling to smooth his path.⁵⁶ The School board wished to avoid unnecessary friction with

⁵² PP. 1880 XXIV, Stewart p. 175.

⁵³ SCC, Clyne SB Minutes 14/9/1880.

⁵⁴ ACC Old Cumnock SB Minutes 23/2/1882. ⁵⁵ Ibid 4/4/1882.

⁵⁶ As an example of this, the Clyne school board refused to sign the Schedule of Inspection in 1880 and 1881 - SCC, Clyne SB Minutes, 8/8/1880 and ibid 25/1/1881.

the man, who, after all, was responsible for awarding government money to schools in their control. With regard to inspection, the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act, certainly put added burdens on the inspectorate. They were the men with the task of mediating between central government and the districts. As a body, the inspectorate stood up well under the new tasks and requirements of the law. They told the SED, that from their experience of local conditions, some desirable measures, like full compulsory attendance, could not immediately be complied with. On the other hand, dilatory or mean school boards were given salutary warnings of the financial consequences of non-compliance with government regulations (See Sections on accomodation and attendance). It was as much to the credit of the inspectorate as anyone else, that Scottish education improved so in the years following 1872.

Section 3. School Curriculum and Organisation after 1872: Developments and Advances.

The immediate effect of the 1872 Act was somewhat muted as far as the curriculum and school organisation were concerned in inspected schools. Of course, change was much more dramatic in hitherto uninspected schools, where the only organisation present was the whim of the schoolmaster. Mr. Hunter, the head teacher of Kelso Parish school, was censured by the inspector for teaching all his pupils of all ages and stages in one class.⁵⁷ This example serves to show that Parliamentary requirements were not sufficient in themselves to produce efficient education. The school curriculum was nominally determined by Parliament in the format of Codes, but these depended for their implementation on the activities of the government inspectors who were in immediate contact with the localities. Local needs and the qualifications of local teachers also determined what was taught. Bedrule School offered the three elementary subjects, mathematics, geography, grammar, Latin, Greek, French, and book-keeping.⁵⁸ The school-

⁵⁷ RCC, Kelso SB Minutes 7/4/1875.

⁵⁸ RCC Bedrule SB Minutes 6/6/1873.

master of the coastal village of Loth in Sutherland offered the 3R's, grammar, geography, English literature, history, singing, mathematics, botany, physics, animal physiology, physical geography, and navigation.⁵⁹ The day of the Renaissance Scholar had not yet passed!

There was, of course, a gulf between what the teacher thought himself capable of teaching, and what was actually taught. Sample time-tables would be of help here, but unfortunately neither the school log-books examined, nor the school board minute books offer more, in the latter case, than a brief time-table separating only religious from secular instruction. No detailed time-table for secular instruction in each standard was found. A rough guide as to what was actually taught can, however, be found in the books used in schools. The teacher of St. Quivox School in Ayrshire offered the 3R's, grammar, geography, Latin, French and Greek.⁶⁰ The books in use in his school were much less exotic. In 1873, scholars could expect to read Watt's Catechism; the Shorter Catechism; Leitch's 1st and 2nd Monitorial Class Books; Nelson's 3rd and 4th Readers; Nelson's Junior Reader and History of Scotland; Collins' British Empire and Senior Reader; Maclaren's Arithmetic; Ingram's Arithmetic; Murray's Geography; Chamber's Set of Maps; Lennie's English Grammar; and the Edinburgh Copy-Books.⁶¹ Note here the absence of text books on the advanced subjects of Latin, French and Greek. This was not untypical. The teacher of Bonar Bridge School in Creich parish was prepared to teach, as well as the normal branches, including history, geography and grammar, the classics, mathematics and modern languages - presumably French and German.⁶² The books actually used were even more restricted than St. Quivox. They were:⁶³ Collins' Readers 1-4;

⁵⁹ SCC Loth SB Minutes 7/6/1873.

⁶⁰ ACC St. Quivox SB Minutes 24/3/1873.

⁶¹ Ibid 15/9/1873.

⁶² SCC Creich SB Minutes, 8/7/1873.

⁶³ Ibid, 9/12/1873.

Nelson's Readers 5 and 6; Collins' Grammar, and Nelson's Royal Primer Wall Cards. It may be argued that only those books in regular school use would be noted, but it does seem strange that there would be a detailed list of elementary text books and no inclusion of the teacher's favourite Latin grammar, at the very least.

All the curricula mentioned above included the 3R's. If the Act of 1872 and the Code of 1873 did nothing else, they promoted the systematic teaching of the elementary subjects of reading, writing, and arithmetic. There was a very good reason - a financial one - for this zeal for teaching of the 3R's. Payment was by results, and the Code of 1873, and its successors, demanded individual annual examination of all children, before government money was granted to the localities. As might be expected, this mercilessly exposed any weakness in the teaching of reading, writing and arithmetic. It was hardly surprising that the systematic teaching of the 3R's became general in inspected Scottish schools. Such had been the case in inspected schools before 1872; now the Code of 1873 insisted not only that all children be taught these subjects, but that all children be examined in them.⁶⁴ It was intended to avoid situations where:

Some could pass the reading of the 6th Standard, while
their writing and arithmetic were barely sufficient for
the 4th.⁶⁵

This arose because, prior to 1872, as a sop to critics of the New Code, not all those who had made 200 attendances (the minimum for examination), had to be presented. The motive behind this concession was to calm fears that the ethos of Scottish education - the direct road between school and university - was being sacrificed in order to produce an Anglicised system of education geared only to working class children and excluding any higher

⁶⁴ Code of 1873, Articles 19B5; 19C4. ⁶⁵ Pp 1867, XXII Wilson pp. 338-9.

studies in the schools. Critics did not quarrel with the efficient teaching of the 3R's, only excessive concentration upon them. The consequence of this latitude was unhappy in some views. One inspector at least found that: "full advantage was taken, in most cases, of the liberty thus granted".⁶⁶ Indeed, the result of presenting only those children who were sure to pass before 1872, produced, as might be expected, a much better percentage pass. A comparison of the figures for 1867-8⁶⁷ and 1878⁶⁸ makes interesting reading:

	% pass in Reading	% pass in Writing	% pass in Arithmetic
1867:	96.97	88.37	82.75
1877:	93.15	88.05	80.58

Presenting all the children qualified in 1877 produced a lower percentage pass. However, it cannot necessarily be argued from these figures that educational standards had fallen after 1872. Not only were all the qualified presented, but the lower average was also the result of a vastly increased school population, and hence a wider range of ability. A more accurate picture of the situation may be obtained from a comparison of those signing the marriage register with a mark in 1871 (Men 10% - Women 19.6%) and in 1891 (Men 3.4% - Women 5.3%).⁶⁹

The impact of the Act on advanced instruction was rather more controversial. This will be dealt with fully in a later chapter; it is intended here only to sketch in the outline. In 1876, the Board of Education feared that some school boards were deliberately confining teaching in their

⁶⁶ Pp 1866 XXVII Black p. 285

⁶⁷ Pp 1867/68 XXV Committee of Council p. xxv.

⁶⁸ Pp 1878 XXXI Committee of Council p. vi.

⁶⁹ Quoted in G.S. Osborne: op cit p. 16.

districts to the elementary subjects, in the mistaken belief that they would earn more grant in this way.⁷⁰ The Committee of Council disagreed and reported in the following year:

We do not read, in the results of the working of the code, any proof that the standard, or character, of the instruction in the schools under our inspection is being lowered; while the unusual number of scholars who, coming direct from elementary public schools, carried off high prizes in the University of Glasgow, during the present session, is a striking proof of the efficiency of the system.⁷¹

This disagreement between the central authorities administering Scottish education is of interest. In part, it was symptomatic of the conflict between the Anglicising tendency - represented by the SED, based in Whitehall - and the defenders of the Scottish tradition, some of whom were to be found on the Board of Education, a temporary body based in Edinburgh. It is perhaps correct to write of a tendency rather than an explicit policy, since neither body was totally homogeneous in its composition. The SED had within its ranks John Strathey, a man who started off as a pupil teacher and after a distinguished academic career, became an inspector and ended up as Secretary to the Department - the proverbial "lad o' pairts". On the other hand, the Secretary to the Department from 1873-84 was Sir Francis Sandford, described by Davie as a prominent Angliciser.⁷² The two authorities disagreed not only over the effects of the Act on advanced Scottish education, but also over what constituted an advanced education. The SED wanted thirteen Specific Subjects, including science - based ones like magnetism and electricity, light and heat, and mechanics. The Board

⁷⁰ PP. 1875/6 XXV Committee of Council pp. xxiii, xxiv.

⁷¹ PP. 1878 XXXI Committee of Council p. xiii.

⁷² G.E. Davie: The Democratic Intellect (1961) p. 96.

on the other hand, would include only mathematics and languages⁷³ - the traditional Scottish university subjects - and considered the others as conducive only of trivial rote learning. To prevent this, and encourage advanced study, the Board also suggested an ascending scale of grants for the higher stages of Specific Subjects.⁷⁴ With the dissolution of the Board in 1879, the SED was left with a free hand, but even so, it also faced debate within its own ranks over the state of advanced instruction in the country. HMI of Schools, Mr. Andrew Scougal, defended the policy of the SED on advanced education in 1877:

I can answer for it in my own experience that three years ago there was very little indeed, less than there is now of such teaching in these schools in this district.⁷⁵

A less optimistic assessment crept into the argument in 1880. In that year, even the Committee of Council deplored the

tendency [that] has been shown by many teachers to introduce these higher subjects into their schools before the schools are fully prepared to take them up, or under circumstances which make it unlikely, if not impossible, that a sufficient staff can be provided for carrying on the instruction efficiently.⁷⁶

HMI Mr. Marshall suggested that teachers only took up Specific Subjects because their neighbours did so, or because they thought it would please the school board and "take away from the school the stigma of giving nothing but elementary instruction".⁷⁷ It was perhaps difficulties over staffing that made many of the HMI's less than enthusiastic over the operation of the Code in relation to Specific Subjects. The same was true for school boards.

⁷³ PP 1877 XXXII, Fourth Annual Report of the Board of Education for Scotland, p. xix.

⁷⁴ Ibid p. xix

⁷⁵ PP 1877 XXXII Scougal p. 152.

⁷⁶ PP 1880 XXIV Committee of Council p. xvi.

⁷⁷ PP 1888 XLI Marshall p. 248.

Some weighed the need for extra staff against the possible grant to be earned and came down, sometimes against local wishes, against encouraging Specific Subject instruction. For example, the teacher at Muirkirk School in 1877 had to close a Latin class of ten because of staffing difficulties.⁷⁸ In the 1870's, some inspectors would have applauded such a decision. Kerr believed in 1877 that the teaching of Specific Subjects meant both an educational and a financial loss for a school.⁷⁹ He noted the decline of the Classics in his area (Aberdeenshire)⁸⁰ and wrote that though there had been an increase in the numbers studying Specific Subjects, this was only because girls now had to study Domestic Economy compulsorily.⁸¹ It would, however, be a mistake to generalise from Kerr. Other inspectors in the same year believed that more were studying the Specific Subjects, and to better purpose.⁸² Clearly, disagreement within the inspectorate mirrored disagreement between the Department and the Board on the matter of advanced instruction. Whatever the effects and motives there can be no doubt that the number of pupils studying Specific Subjects rose sharply. In 1876, 12,958 children studied these subjects; by 1886, numbers had risen to 62,846.⁸³ Monetary inducements were clearly successful in promoting higher studies; whether they were of good quality or not is much more difficult to determine, and will be examined in detail in Chapter 8.

Comparisons with conditions before 1872 are difficult, as there are no national statistics. Numbers were probably small. Of about 14,000

⁷⁸ ACC Muirkirk SB Minutes 15/10/1877.

⁷⁹ Pp 1878 XXXI Kerr p. 181.

⁸⁰ Ibid p. 182.

⁸¹ Ibid p. 181.

⁸² Ibid Hall p. 157; Jolly p. 162.

⁸³ Pp 1876 XXV Committee of Council p. x.
Pp 1886 XXVII Committee of Council p. xviii.

children receiving their education in schools in 1865 in the Dick Bequest Scheme, only 603 studied mathematics; 860 Latin; 196 Greek; and 88 French.⁸⁴ This area was considered to be the most educationally advanced in Scotland. Direct comparison with the post 1872 situation is difficult, since the three Dick Bequest counties of Aberdeen, Banff and Moray came under different inspectors. HMI Mr. Stewart, who inspected schools in Aberdeen and Banff in 1876 was in favour of Specific Subjects, though he offered no figures for children studying them in his area - certainly, he notes no decline in higher studies. The following year, HMI Mr. Jolly who inspected schools in Elgin (Moray) found more and better advanced instruction, while, as mentioned above, Kerr, in the same year, was critical of the standard of advanced instruction in Aberdeenshire. Only Macleod attempted a direct comparison of numbers, and then only for Moray in 1878-9, but his findings seem to show an increase in the numbers studying the University subjects.⁸⁵ It may tentatively be concluded that the 1872 Act did not directly result in a diminution of those going on to advanced instruction, even in the traditional university subjects. The quality of such advanced teaching as was given remains questionable, however, and will be more fully discussed in Chapter 8.

Where elementary teaching was concerned, changes in the Codes had a considerable impact on the organisation of the school. These changes were also exemplified by a gradual change from individual to class examination on the part of the inspectorate. The increased emphasis put on reading, writing and arithmetic has already been mentioned. These subjects were examined individually. There were other subjects like grammar and intelligence, and geography and history, which were examined by classes.

⁸⁴ S.S. Laurie: Report on Education in the Parochial Schools of the counties of Aberdeen, Banff and Moray addressed to the Trustees of the Dick Bequest (Edinburgh, 1865) p. 347.

⁸⁵ Pp 1878-9 XXV, Macleod p. 167. See also this thesis p.320 for Macleod's detailed figures.

The Code of 1873 allowed 2 s. per child in Standards II and III, if the class as a whole successfully answered questions on grammar and intelligence (comprehension). The same grants applied to Standards IV to VI and questions on history and geography.⁸⁶ Most schools under inspection taught one or other of these Class Subjects, particularly since they found that the pass rate was high. In 1881, HMI Mr. Barrie reported that only 9 out of 230 schools in his area failed to pass Article 19 C 1 (grammar and intelligence), and that only 31 out of 211 schools failed to pass Article 19 C 2 (history and geography).⁸⁷ A very few of the more traditional schoolmasters refused to have anything to do with subjects like history and geography. There were "still some 'old parochials' who do not give systematic instruction in these subjects".⁸⁸ Such opposition was unusual. The Class Subjects were favoured, even by traditionalists, because they represented more than mere elementary teaching in Scottish schools. Teachers liked these subjects too, partly because of their educational value, and partly because, being examined on a Class basis, children were less nervous, and, judging by the results above, made a better showing at inspection. The main criticism by the inspectorate of history was not of the teaching but of the textbooks. One, probably Collins, was described by HMI Mr. Sime in the following terms:

The most readable text-book on Scotch history might have been written, so far as spirit is concerned, by a survivor of the first battle of Falkirk ...⁸⁹

HMI Mr. Muir agreed with the assessment. The contents of the book were "clouds of gloom and torrents of blood" coloured by "extreme party tone".⁹⁰ One cannot help feeling that such a book was preferable to the dreary emphasis on "dates" preferred by HMI's, Macleod and Hall.⁹¹

⁸⁶ Code of 1873, Articles 19 C 1, 2. ⁸⁷ PP 1881, XXXIV Barrie p. 120.

⁸⁸ PP 1884-5 XXVI Marshall p. 190. ⁸⁹ PP 1878-79 XXV Sime p. 220.

⁹⁰ PP 1880 XXIV Muir p. 150.

⁹¹ PP 1878-79 XXV Macleod p. 164; pp. 1880 ~~XXIV~~ Hall p. 128.

It was the policy of the SED to encourage the teaching of more than the 3R's within the Standards. Class Subjects were favoured because they affected: "the general attendance of a large body of pupils in any efficient school".⁹² The key to the SED attitude was that Class Subjects affected large numbers of children, not the smaller number, often ex-standard, (i.e. post Standard VI) who studied Specific Subjects. Even after 1885 the SED still concentrated on the mass of school pupils; the difference was that the mass was increasingly considered capable of more than mere elementary learning. Hence, in 1873, there were two Class Subjects: History and Geography; Grammar and Intelligence. After 1885, when Drawing was added to the Class Subjects,⁹³ there was a steady increase in their number. In 1886, English was removed from the Schedule of Specific Subjects, and added to Schedule 5 (the Class Subject Schedule). Also added were needlework (if taught as a Class Subject), and, a reflection of contemporary attitudes, elementary science. By 1886, then, there were five Class Subjects on the Fifth Schedule: English (including grammar); drawing; history and geography; needlework; and elementary science. With the Code of 1890, which split up history and geography, the number rose to six.

Each school giving instruction up to Standard IV was expected to tackle at least one Class Subject, while Standard V pupils had to study two. On the other hand, in 1886, it was decided to limit their study from Standard III upwards; the Department did not wish to overburden the younger children. The Department also tried to ensure that one teacher schools did not suffer, by allowing such schools to combine two standards and teach them the same period of history. Certain areas, like Forfarshire and Shetland, unfortunately, did not appear to know of this concession, and did less well than expected.⁹⁴ On the whole, however, Class Subjects were approved of by

⁹² P 1886 XXVII Committee of Council p. xxix. ⁹³ Code of 1885 Article 19 F.

⁹⁴ P 1888 XLI Muir p. 287.

the inspectors. Jolly believed that the Code of 1886 was of particular benefit to the Roman Catholic schools "which till now have generally confined themselves to the bare 'three R's'".⁹⁵ Now, with English as a Class Subject, they could earn a little extra government grant and give a higher level of instruction. By and large, it appears that the new policy towards Class Subjects strengthened teaching in the ordinary schools of Scotland, by encouraging the study of subjects beyond the basic 3R's.

The '80's saw not only additions to the Class Subjects, but also changes in the method of examination. The Code of 1873 had brought into Scottish education the principle of payment by results, that is, by the results attained by each individual child in an examination, either oral or written, given by an inspector of schools. It was deemed important to ensure economy and efficiency, to see that the cost of national education did not become an intolerable burden on the Exchequer by indiscriminate grants of government money to local school boards. Money was only granted if local education was efficient, (the second aim) - hence both annual inspection and payment by results. A not unexpected result was increased standardisation of education. Contemporary observers, and later historians, were divided about the value of this. Some saw it as the imposition of an alien English standard on a country which had, in their opinion, a quite distinct educational tradition. Was this view justified; was there a blanket imposition of an alien system of education and examination by an omnipotent SED? From the first, individual examination did not apply to the Class Subjects; it did apply to the elementary parts of instruction, and to the Specific Subjects. One other group was exempt from individual examination - Infants of between four and seven years of age. If they were taught as a class in a larger school, each child earned, if he had made the minimum attendance of 250 meetings, 8 s. for his school; if the Infants

⁹⁵ PP 1888 XLI Jolly p. 244.

were in a separate Department, with their own teacher, the grant earned was 10 s.⁹⁶ Clearly, earning a government grant was not invariably subject to individual examination. Certain concessions were made to Scottish opinion. Nor was that the only concession to the traditionalists. As mentioned earlier in this Section, Specific Subjects were included in the Code of 1873 to quieten fears that Scottish education was henceforth to be totally elementary, designed only for working class children. Sanford, Secretary to the SED, described though he was as an Angliciser, was willing to take advice, and act upon it in the Code of 1873, from a man with the educational stature of HMI John Kerr, a stalwart defender of the traditional values of Scottish education.⁹⁷ The result may have been an educational system fairly closely related to the English, but it is difficult to argue that this was due to a deliberate plot by educational administrators.

Despite these concessions, the system of payment by results was much disliked, even though it did ensure that the dull were not ignored for the intelligent. Dr. Smith believed that one of the consequences of this system was a

Too exclusive attention to those subjects in which a child is likely to fail.⁹⁸

The experimental Code of 1886, which abolished individual examination below Standard III was much appreciated. In a sense, it may be regarded less as an innovation, and more as a return to the system of examination in force prior to 1872. The Treasury was safeguarded, and flexibility was maintained by grading the results of the class examinations below Standard III - a mark of 'fair' earned 7 s. per child; 'good' 8 s; 'excellent' 9 s.⁹⁹ Scottish appreciation expressed in Parliament and in newspapers like the Scotsman,

⁹⁶ Code of 1873 Art. 19B 1 a), b).

⁹⁸ P.P 1883 XXVI Smith p. 73.

⁹⁷ Kerr: Memories p. 83.

⁹⁹ Code of 1886 Art. 19B 1 a).

for the Code of 1886 seems to suggest that over ten years of Whitehall/SED control of Scottish education could not destroy the separate ethos of that education. While it may be argued that this relief at the diminution of individual examination was as much on educational as other grounds, the reactions of the SED itself were interesting. In the next year, the Department seemed rather apologetic about the continuation of any payment by results at all. Rather lamely, My Lords explained that it had to be maintained until "reversed by legislature".¹⁰⁰ They gave the lie to this excuse with a Code in 1890, abolishing payment by results for any ordinary Standard. This Code has been mentioned previously, in relation to the expansion of Class Subjects. These now numbered six. Clearly, on educational grounds, Scottish elementary education was in a healthy state by the 1890's. It embraced far more than the 3R's and was no longer blighted, for pupils and teachers, by the terrors of individual examination. There was no Parliamentary protest about this action. The official excuse for the abolition of individual examination was that it prevented some of those qualified from being presented for examination, in case they failed and lost money for their school. The Department noted that only 63.45% of those qualified in Standards IV to VI were presented.¹⁰¹ However, this excuse by the SED was somewhat specious. The HMI's on many occasions pointed out that most children who left before Standard VI left to take up jobs. Presumably, in making the excuse it did, the Department was interested mainly in intellectual consistency.

Although payment by results had become thoroughly discredited by 1890, it would be wrong to imagine that all government grant was given only on that condition. The exemptions for Infants and for Class Subjects have

¹⁰⁰ PP. 1887 XXXII Committee of Council p. xviii.

¹⁰¹ PP. 1890 XXXI Committee of Council p. xi.

already been mentioned. Article 19 A 1¹⁰² allowed an attendance grant of 4 s. per child who had made the requisite number of attendances through the year. Article 19 A 2 offered 1 s. per scholar if singing was part of the ordinary instruction of the school. There was also a variable grant for Organisation and Discipline, which has been mentioned before. It was, therefore, possible to earn 6 s. 6 d. per child, even if he did not appear at the annual examination. The inspectors knew that teachers would realise this, and Article 19 B 5 said that no child who had made the requisite attendances could be absent without reasonable excuse - illness, removal from district, bad weather, or quarantine¹⁰³ - on the day of examination. The incidence of infectious disease around the date of examination is not, unfortunately, available, but it seems to have been substantial enough to goad one Inspector into remarking:

it is a matter of common observation that epidemics have a tendency to haunt weak schools.¹⁰⁴

It may be concluded that the Act of 1872 set out the broad plans for the education, as opposed to instruction of all Scottish children. However, the Codes were of much greater importance than the Act in determining how this goal was actually achieved. The Codes played an important part in determining how much government grant a school could earn and what could be taught. The Codes also determined such a basic matter as the manner of examination leading to a government grant. The theory behind the Education (Scotland) Act of 1872 was put into practice by the Codes. The Code was a sensitive instrument which could easily be adjusted to take into account changes in educational, fiscal, or political thinking. The 1872 Act

¹⁰² Code of 1873 Article 19 A 2.

¹⁰³ H.J. Gibbs and J.W. Edwards: The Code of the Scotch Education Department (annotated) (1878) p. 26, notes to Article 19 B 5.

¹⁰⁴ P.F. 1888 XLI Ogilvie p. 298.

expressed an educational ideal; the various Codes interpreted this in relation to changing conditions. One problem remains. Why did the philosophy behind the curriculum appear to change so substantially in the '80's, where the ordinary instruction of the schools was concerned? One possible explanation is experience. The experience of England probably ensured that Scotland missed the worst of payment by results. The inspectors noticed that presentation fell off as the higher standards were reached, and wished to reverse this. But that only partially accounts for the changes. There is good reason to suppose that the Secretary for Scotland Act of 1885, which saw English and Scottish education administratively separated, and overall control of Scottish education put into the hands of a senior Minister, was of crucial importance. The new measure was not passed without conflict. Hanham points out¹⁰⁵ that the existing Education Department was fiercely opposed. The senior officials - Sandford, Cumin and Craik - all Scots, were all against, as were the big Scots school boards like Glasgow. Scottish Catholics feared a less sympathetic Scots department. The Scots University MP's were opposed, as were the bulk of Scottish Tories. It was an Englishman, Sir Robert Harcourt who, as Home Secretary and hence senior Government minister, piloted the Bill through the House of Commons. He had the support of the Scottish Liberal peers, and The Scotsman expressed the feelings of many who were opposed to centralisation and of the many who felt on patriotic grounds that such a change was desirable. Hanham suggests¹⁰⁶ that Harcourt got the job because Scottish Parliamentary opinion was too evenly divided to allow a native to steer the Bill through with any expectation of success. Harcourt took the advice of Lord Rosebery - the leading Scottish Liberal peer - and included education in his Bill on

¹⁰⁵ H. Hanham: Scottish Nationalism (1969), p. 57.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, p. 58.

the grounds that¹⁰⁷ "the mass of Scottish opinion demands it". However, the continuity of personnel in the SED explains why it was not until 1890 that individual examination was abolished, and why Gaelic was not accepted as a Specific Subject till 1888. It was not mere coincidence that such substantial changes in curriculum and methods of examination followed 1885.

Section 4. Teachers' Conditions before and after 1872.

The Act of 1872 had considerable affect on the conditions of employment, including certification of teachers. The import of the Act was that all teachers had to be efficient in schools that were in receipt of direct government grant, or wider school board control, like the burgh schools. To this end, serving teachers who were not already certificated were to be examined by the inspectorate as to their competence. In these fields, the central authority had control. The other area of importance for teachers was that of salary. Salaries were more affected by the Codes, which determined the way and amount of grant to be earned, and by the policies of individual school boards.

In one respect, former practice was continued, at least where schools inspected before 1872 were concerned. Section 56 restricted appointments of head teachers in public schools to those who held a certificate of competency from the Privy Council. This might have been expected to cause some difficulty, for after the Act, public schools included all parochial schools. Many of the old parochial dominies had never been certificated and had had no incentive to become so, since they never could, under the Code of 1860, have claimed a share in the grant. The reason for this was that many of these men held other remunerated posts, such as

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, p. 58, footnote 2.

Inspector of Poor, which disqualified them from government augmentation. After 1872, these men were ex officio recognised as certificated, and were allowed to undertake duties unconnected with teaching, as long as they did not interfere with school hours.¹⁰⁸

Other members of the teaching profession, like those in the burgh schools who were principal teachers, or who were members of the General Council of a Scottish university, were also ex officio recognised as certificated. Here we see the desire by the government for a national standard of teacher efficiency. The burgh schools could not in 1872, and for many years afterwards, earn government grants. Yet their teachers, too, because they now came under the control of the local boards, were expected to conform to a recognised standard of efficiency in qualifications. Certificates of the 4th (lowest) Class were also granted, without examination, to acting principal teachers who were over twenty-five, had been teaching for more than five years, and whom an HMI of Schools found efficient.¹⁰⁹ Those who fell into none of these categories were given a period of grace to apply for, and be examined for, a certificate of professional competence.

Furthermore, graduates of Scottish universities were exempted from all examinations save those concerned with teaching theory and practice.¹¹⁰ This headed off critics who saw in the demand for teachers with training college certificates, a sinister plot to reduce the calibre and attainments of Scottish teachers. Nevertheless, at least one school board, Glasgow, (responsible for the education of one-fifth of all Scots children) was willing to employ only fully Normal School trained teachers. University graduates were accepted merely as probationers, not entitled to teach on their own, despite the fact that under Article 59, the SED regarded them

¹⁰⁸ Code of 1873 Art. 17 d).

¹⁰⁹ Ibid Art. 59 i., 2.

¹¹⁰ Ibid 59 d).

as certificated.¹¹¹ It was not that Glasgow school board was unappreciative of the benefits of university attendance; indeed, unlike Edinburgh, it was prepared to give very generous paid in-service leave to those of its trained teachers who wished to attend university.¹¹² The fact was that most of Glasgow's board schools concentrated on elementary education; hence the emphasis on trained Normal School teachers who were well-qualified to give this sort of education. The Glasgow position vis-a-vis university attendance for sewing teachers was an extension of Article 102 of the 1873 Code, which allowed a certain number of male teachers in training colleges to take some classes at university.¹¹³ Thirteen men took advantage of this provision in 1874; by 1894, the figures were 106 men and 36 women.¹¹⁴

In consequence of the provisions on certification, there was an enormous increase in the number of teachers who had been trained or were otherwise recognised as efficient in Scottish schools:

	1869	1879	1889	1899
Certificated Teachers (Male and Female)	2,322	5,148	7,466	10,376

The number of assistant teachers also rose sharply:

	1869	1879	1889	1899
Assistant Teachers (Male and Female)	12	357	1,355	2,371

These figures need a certain amount of explanation. The big leap between 1869 and 1879 was not of course due solely to increased numbers of college-trained teachers (though there was a very considerable increase in this

¹¹¹ J.M. Roxburgh: The School Board of Glasgow 1873-1919 (1971) p. 48.

¹¹² Ibid, pp.49-50.

¹¹³ Code of 1873 Art. 102 b).

¹¹⁴ PP 1875 XXVI Committee of Council p. 13.
PP 1895 XXX Committee of Council p. xxiii.

category). The balance of the rise in numbers was accounted for by the various provisions of the Education (Scotland) Act, which have been described above. For example, all parochial schoolmasters gained de facto certification. There was also a marked rise in the numbers of certificated assistant teachers between 1869 and 1889. This was due to a combination of factors. In part, the rise between 1869 and 1879 was the result of a move to larger school units under the Act. Glasgow school board built in this decade a number of new schools designed to accomodate over 800 pupils. Trained assistant teachers were needed to cope with this novel educational situation. It appears that the enormous increase in numbers between 1879 and 1889 can be accounted for by the expansion of Standard work beyond the minimum 3R's. Even in a moderately sized school of between 100 and 200 pupils, one teacher could not be expected to cope efficiently with the teaching of reading, writing, arithmetic, and one or more of the Class Subjects of, by 1889, geography and history, English, needlework, elementary science, and drawing; a suitably qualified assistant had to be employed. Increasing Code limitations on pupil/teacher ratios also meant of necessity the employment of assistant teachers. In a sense, the more complex school situation, with head teacher and one or more assistant teachers, reflected a more complex, increasingly urbanised society, demanding new skills and larger units of production.

So far, the Act seems to have been quite acceptable to teachers in Scotland. There were greater employment opportunities and they were better trained. Teachers did lose one valued privilege, however - the *ad vitam aut culpam* tenure. This had, of course, affected only a minority of Scottish teachers, those working as principal teachers in the parochial schools. On the other hand, the abolition of this privileged tenure meant that non-parochial teachers could no longer use it as a bargaining counter in any attempt to secure better terms for themselves. After 1872, teachers were

appointed "during the pleasure of the school board".¹¹³

The only ones in the old position were the parochial dominies who had been appointed before August 6th, 1872. Bone suggests¹¹⁴ that school boards were in no mood to allow greater security of tenure for teachers after 1872, because they saw the difficulties that faced boards that wanted to remove teachers (those 'old parochials'), who still had virtually life tenure of their position.¹¹⁵ Some school boards attempted to remove their 'old parochials' for one reason or another, but the celebrated cases brought by Mochrum and Logie Almond school boards established the legal rights of such teachers in relation to security of tenure. A less famous case is that of Kelso school board against Mr. Hunter, its parish schoolmaster. Despite very poor relations with his board, and a decision by the SED following a special inspection by HMI Mr. Scougal, which found Hunter unfit and inefficient,¹¹⁶ he could not be removed. The board brought an action to the Sheriff, who dismissed Hunter on grounds of inefficiency. He appealed to the Court of Session, which found with expenses against Kelso school board.¹¹⁷ A year later, the Board of Education urged a compromise on Kelso school board - accept Hunter's retiral and give him the legal retiral allowance; there were no valid grounds for dismissal.¹¹⁸ Other school boards attempted to dismiss their parochial schoolmasters for less educationally valid reasons. In Clyne in Sutherland, for example, the

¹¹³ Education (Scotland) Act 1872 Section 55.

¹¹⁴ T.R. Bone: 'Teachers and Security of Tenure' in T.R. Bone (editor) Studies in the History of Scottish Education, 1872-1939 (1967) p. 94.

¹¹⁵ Education (Scotland) Act 1872 Section 55.

¹¹⁶ RCC Kelso SB Minutes 26/8/1874.

¹¹⁷ Ibid 4/11/1874.

¹¹⁸ Ibid 19/6/1875.

Free Church dominated school board found it impossible to remove the parochial dominie, Morris Myron, a Church of Scotland man, although they made a strenuous attempt to do so.¹¹⁹ (They had only a very tenuous case against him). Despite constant conflict with his school board, Myron stayed in office till 1894, when he retired on his own terms.¹²⁰ Teachers who did not have this tenure were less fortunate. In Roxburghshire in 1885, Lilliesleaf school board decided to sack the head mistress of the Currie school for no other reason than that "the Board has resolved to get a teacher at a less Salary".¹²¹ The same school board decided in May 1887 to dismiss its head teacher from July 29th, and cynically decided not to tell him of their decision till then, lest out of pique he damaged the education of the school.¹²² Though wiser counsels prevailed at the next meeting, and the teacher was allowed to resign,¹²³ it is an example of the difficulties faced by teachers lacking security of tenure. Of course, the faults were not all on one side; Linton school board had to put up with an increasingly cranky parochial schoolmaster who was still in office as late as 1903.¹²⁴

Although the 1872 Act and the dictates of individual school boards appeared to be the final words on conditions of employment, teachers were not entirely friendless. They themselves campaigned for greater security of tenure, while the HMI's fulminated against unjust dismissals in their Reports, especially after 1879 when an economic depression which hit at school rates drove school boards to cut teachers' salaries and dismiss those who would not acquiesce. After a number of particularly

¹¹⁹ SCC Clyne SB Minutes 6/6/1876; 27/8/1876.

¹²⁰ Ibid 14/7/1894.

¹²¹ NCC Lilliesleaf SB Minutes 29/5/1885.

¹²² Ibid 28/5/1887.

¹²³ Ibid 27/8/1887.

¹²⁴ RCC Linton SB Minutes 17/12/1903. The new female assistant teacher was told to forget her new teaching methods.

capricious dismissals, Mundella in his capacity as Vice President of the Committee of Council for Education, and effective Parliamentary representative of the SED, brought in a Bill to regulate the dismissal of teachers, which became the Public Schools (Scotland) Teachers Act of 1882. This Bill was not passed without school board opposition. Glasgow school board, though certainly not one of these which dealt in capricious dismissals (the normal course in the case of erring teachers was demotion, not dismissal)¹²⁵ sent the government a petition against the Bill.¹²⁶ The new Act did not give complete security of tenure, but did ensure that when a teacher was dismissed, due notice was given, and that the dismissal was approved by a majority of the elected board (i.e. if there were five elected members, two out of three members present at a meeting could not, by their temporary majority, dismiss a teacher). It appears from the school board records studied in detail, that the normal periods of notice on either side were six weeks or three months. Kirkoswald School board offered only one month's notice, which, combined with the isolated situation of the parish, sometimes made it difficult to replace staff. Cases of unjust dismissal like that of Lilliesleaf could still occur, but at least the teacher now had a period of notice in which to look for a new post.

One aspect of teachers' conditions was entirely in the hands of the school boards. Local boards would pay as much or as little as they liked to their teachers; as long as they employed staff commensurate with the number of scholars, they lost no government grant, no matter how low

¹²⁵ Roxburgh, op cit p. 91.

¹²⁶ Glasgow SB Minutes 8/8/1881.

the salary. *However, as the salary figures for the years between 1870 and 1899 show, there was a slow rise, as school boards found that they could only offer efficient education if they paid their teachers adequate salaries. With the new Act, there was a shortage of trained teachers, and hence a sharp rise in salary offered.¹²⁷ With the '80's came a sharp trade depression, and with it a fall in salaries. HMI Mr. Smith found in 1880 that "Many teachers have had their salaries nearly halved by the new boards".¹²⁸ The recession really began before 1879 and was aggravated by the collapse of the City of Glasgow Bank. The tight financial situation was reflected in the elections to school boards in 1879 and 1882. Many boards had new faces - ratepayer candidates, elected on a platform of strict economy, not the educational good of their area. Some of the financial cuts did not directly affect the teachers employed by the school board. In May 1879 Dalmellington cut the salary of its Clerk and Treasurer by £5 to £20.¹²⁹ Dreghorn school board had, however, to face a demand by its new member, John Banks, for a reduction in its teachers' salaries.¹³⁰ He had no seconder, and the motion fell. Not all teachers were so lucky. Four ratepayer candidates were elected to Glasgow school board in 1879. Together with the three Roman Catholics, and with Martin, the Town Council member,¹³¹ the ratepayers were able to force

	Average Salary	
	male certificated teacher	female certificated teacher
	(includes principal and assistant teachers)	
1870	£101.16s.7d.	£55.14s.2d.
1879	£139. 3s.0d.	£72. 6s.4d.
1889	£133.16s.6d.	£62.16s.1d.
1899	£143. 7s.9d.	£69.19s.7d.

¹²⁷ PP 1874 XX Walker p. 35.

¹²⁸ PP 1880 XXIV Smith p. 162.

¹²⁹ ACC, Dalmellington SB Minutes 1/5/1879.

¹³⁰ ACC, Dreghorn SB Minutes 5/11/1879.

¹³¹ Roxburgh, op cit p. 41.

through economy measures in relation to teachers' salaries. Local parsimony or generosity was the determining factor for teachers' salaries. A change in school board personnel could, and did, often result in policy changes in relation to salaries. Local autonomy was all very well, but this freedom from central control all too often meant that individual teachers suffered. There is one piece of evidence which suggests that the SED was unhappy about the trend of teachers' salaries after the high point of 1879. Unlike their previous practice, they did not after 1880 publish a Table in their Reports giving a year by year picture of the salary scale. Tables were still made up, but no longer on an annual basis. Possibly the Department felt that the tendency of school boards to provide only the minimum of staff necessary to meet Code requirements, might be followed in the salary field, too. Boards paying higher than average salaries to their teachers might reduce them to the average level, thus depressing salaries still further. School boards did sometimes work on just this basis. There was a move within Bedrule school board - luckily for the teacher, successfully opposed - to reduce their schoolmaster's salary considerably, in order to bring it into line with that paid by neighbouring school boards.¹³² Notwithstanding this decision by the Department to publish salary tables less frequently, the level of teachers' salaries did fall in the decade between 1879 and 1889 - see Tables on pp. 120 and 125. In 1884, HMI Mr. Marshall noted disapprovingly one example of school board parsimony (it probably saved the wages of a pupil teacher):

Even the fact that the infant mistress counts as qualified to teach only 60, whereas if she is kept as an assistant she counts for 80, is sufficient to turn an infants department into an under standard class.¹³³

¹³² RCC, Bedrule SB Minutes 20/5/1874.

¹³³ RP 1884-5 XXVI Marshall p. 192.

On the other hand, the large increase in assistant teachers in the '80's probably accounted for some of the apparent reduction in salaries - see page 125 . A greater number of assistant teachers was not, however, in itself sufficient to account for the lowering of the average salary paid. Supply and demand was also a factor in deciding salaries. Boards like Glasgow, and others in central Scotland, had training colleges nearby and could afford to be choosy in the staff they employed. More remote boards found it difficult to attract trained teachers, and had to increase the initial salary offered in order to obtain staff. Day pointed out that this was what happened in the Highlands and Islands.¹³⁴ Remote southern mainland boards also faced this difficulty. Dalrymple school board had to increase the salary it offered by £10 because it could get no reply to its advertisement.¹³⁵ Similarly, Kirkoswald school board was blackmailed into offering an extra £5 to its trained female teacher, who otherwise threatened to leave.¹³⁶ If this is what the remoter boards had to do to attract staff, it suggests that more geographically favoured boards did indeed go in for extensive salary reductions in the 1880's. A drop of £10 in the average of female teachers' salaries (who were far more likely than men to be assistants before 1879) cannot be accounted for in any other way. There were far more trained teachers by 1889; their financial situation was more precarious than it had been in 1879. School boards were all too often interested only in keeping expense to the ratepayers to a minimum.

Not all teachers were even certificated. Roman Catholic schools depended heavily on ex-pupil teachers for staffing, because they cost less

¹³⁴ Day, op cit p. 171.

¹³⁵ ACC, Dalrymple SB Minutes 9/9/1897.

¹³⁶ ACC, Kirkoswald SB Minutes 24/8/1895.

to employ.¹³⁷ The Department recognised this in 1884, when it noted:

A considerable number of teachers who have not passed through the Training Colleges will always be required for service, as the salaries obtained even by female trained teachers, are beyond the means of the managers of many small schools throughout the country.¹³⁸

It was not that these ex-pupil teachers were entirely untrained; as their name suggests, they had already completed their apprenticeship and many of them were waiting to enter training college. This suggests that the employment of ex-pupil teachers was not an entirely one-sided benefit. Ex-pupil teachers were profitably employed in the months prior to college entrance; school boards benefited from cheap labour, and the employment of a teacher with whose qualities they were thoroughly familiar. However, educational damage was done where boards relied heavily on this form of labour. In general, ex-pupil teachers were capable only of teaching the 3R's. The self-supporting Roman Catholic schools, which perhaps understandably relied on ex-pupil teachers, were criticised for just this limitation.¹³⁹ Some rate-aided school boards employed ex-pupil teachers with far less justification. Hawick Burgh school board employed ex-pupil teachers as a matter of course - at £30 per annum for males, less than half the £70 salary of a certificated assistant teacher.¹⁴⁰ This board was less than fifty miles from Edinburgh, with a good train service. HMI Mr. King criticised this practice six years later in 1895.¹⁴¹ A few school boards exploited their ex-pupil teachers mercilessly. A female ex-pupil teachers at Dalmellington got no pay

¹³⁷ PP 1882 XXV Ross p. 150.

¹³⁸ PP 1883-4 XXVI Committee of Council p. xx.

¹³⁹ PP 1888, XLI, Jolly p. 244; Ibid Bathgate p. 250.

¹⁴⁰ RCC Hawick SB Committee Minutes 8/4/1889.

¹⁴¹ Ibid 21/11/1895.

from her school board for six months service as an ex-pupil teacher; the board wriggled clean because it had made no written agreement.¹⁴² It seems that ex-pupil teachers in school board employment gained less than their boards. School boards gained by their cheap labour; ex-pupil teachers had nowhere else to go for employment in the months before training colleges began the new session. The common practice of beginning pupil teachers indentures with the calendar year meant that many were in this poor bargaining position. On the other hand, ex-pupil teachers were not so useful as ordinary teachers - Article 60 of the Code of 1873 allowed them to be in charge of schools with a maximum average attendance of sixty pupils. They could fill in the gaps in teacher supply. Their existence benefited school boards; the SED was perhaps wise in recognising that their educational value was low and offering grant aid in proportion.

In one sense, the Act of 1872, by determining both the necessity for certification and curtailing security of tenure, was of crucial importance to the working conditions of teachers. On the other hand, the Act of 1882 and the policies of individual school boards had a much more immediate effect on conditions. Bone considers that smaller school boards,¹⁴³ being more open to local pressure, were more likely to dismiss teachers unjustly. Larger boards, with more than one school, could move the less efficient teacher to the smaller school, and avoid the necessity of dismissal. They had, also, greater local resources, and could afford higher salaries for their teachers.

Other regional variations affected conditions for teachers. Craik favoured female teachers for small schools,¹⁴⁴ as did many school boards,

¹⁴² ACC Dalmellington SB Minutes 28/1/1892.

¹⁴³ T.R. Bone, 'Teachers and Security of Tenure', in Bone *op cit* p. 85.

¹⁴⁴ PP 1885, XXVI, Report on Highland Schools by Henry Craik, p. 19.

because their salaries were lower. Those who were tradition-minded were opposed. Who had ever heard of a female dominie? They had existed in adventure schools for years, but never in charge of parochial schools. At least two witnesses to the Napier Commission deplored the trend for school boards to employ women. One 76 year old crofter deplored the building of a school house costing £1,000 "for a little pimple of a woman".¹⁴⁵ Another witness believed that the public school at Annisdale had improved immensely because it was now taught by a male teacher.¹⁴⁶ The trend towards the employment of female teachers could not be reversed, however. As time passed, both male and female teachers were better paid, and, if the figures on page 120 are correct, better qualified academically. This tended to remove prejudice against women as teachers. They were no longer cheaper, though ill-qualified, substitutes for the traditional dominie. We may then conclude that overall terms and conditions for teachers were determined by the Act of 1872; individual negotiations over salaries and terms of employment were controlled locally.

Section 5. School Attendance and School Fees

The most important feature of the Act of 1872 was undoubtedly its insistence on universal compulsory education up to a certain minimum standard. How well did this work in practice? Section 72 of the Act attached blame not only to the parents, but also to the employer of an illiterate child. Furthermore, parents could no longer plead that they could not afford to pay the school fees of a maximum of 9d. a week for their children; Section 69 allowed such parents to apply to the Parochial Board for help with fees. This included not only pauper children, but

¹⁴⁵ NC PP 1884, XXXIII, Neil Nicolson, p. 238.

¹⁴⁶ NCPP 1884, XXXV, John M'Cuaig p. 2025.

also those whose parents were probably in work, but who did not earn enough to feed their families and pay school fees as well. In 1875 there were applications for relief of fees on behalf of 2,974 children, but 1,150 of these were refused. This clause also worked poorly in practice because:

Objection had been taken to this section on account of the stigma of pauperism which is thereby fixed on those who live by their own industry, and are willing, although not able, to provide the means of education for their children.¹⁴⁷

The very fact that parents were forced to turn to the Parochial Board for assistance in the education of their children suggests that the compulsory clause did have some effect - the Act of 1872 in this respect perhaps did represent a milestone for Scottish education. However, it did not go far enough. Many children still avoided the compulsory clause. The 1878 Education (Scotland) Act raised the age of exemption from the compulsory clause to 14, from 13, and forced the Parochial Board to pay school fees for non-pauper children. The 1875 figures of refusals of fee assistance could not be permitted to continue. A further loophole was stopped up in 1883, when efficient education was defined. This spelt a death sentence for those few adventure schools which allowed nominal attendance, and gave an almost non-existent education. The Act of 1872 was crucial in enforcing attendance; practice exposed the flaws in legal enforcement, and those were remedied. Other problems were much less tractable. Probably the main one was poverty.

The difficulties that could arise were illustrated in the New Monkland case of 1880, which resulted in the decision that the parish should pay the school fees even if the parents were not otherwise in

¹⁴⁷ PP XXV Board of Education p. xv, footnote.

receipt of parochial relief.

M'Caig's wages are 17s9d a week, or £46 3s a year. He must have a house to live in, the rent for which may be moderately stated at £3 10s a year. Coal, gas and clothes are, I think, understated at £10. Deducting these two sums... there remains £32 13s a year, or 12s6¹/₂d a week for actual provisions. By dividing this by eight (the number of the family) we have 1s6³/₄d a week, or less than 2³/₄d per day, for the support of each member. Can it be said in such circumstances that a surplus ought to be left for the education of his children?... Sum required per head ... for the maintenance of each pauper by the Airdrie Parochial Board was 1s8³/₄d per week...the parochial board have the advantage of getting their provisions at a cheaper rate than a private party.¹⁴⁸

What surprises observers almost a century later, is that M'Caig could even have contemplated paying for the education of his children. It is difficult to see why he was refused assistance in the first place. The school board records consulted show that from the outset, some school boards were prepared to concede that school fees were difficult for larger families. Castleton school board set the fees for three children at two thirds of the cost; a family with four children at school was to pay only half of the fees due.¹⁴⁹ Dalrymple set the quarterly fees for one child at 2s 6d; 1s extra for the second child; 1s extra for the third child; and 6d more for the fourth child - i.e. The maximum quarterly fee for four children was 5s.¹⁵⁰ However, despite these concessions, and despite legislation facing the Parochial Boards to help with fees for needy cases, it seems that there were still problems in fee paying. Creich school board had to write off about £60 in fee arrears in 1885. Eighty-two children were involved, and the arrears ranged from 1s 6d to £3 19s.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁸ A.C. Sellar: Manual of the Education Acts for Scotland, Edinburgh 1894, p. 199.

¹⁴⁹ RCC Castleton SB Minutes 12/11/1873.

¹⁵⁰ ACC Dalrymple SB Minutes 24/6/1873.

¹⁵¹ SCC Creich SB Minutes 21/3/1885.

The central authority recognized that fees were an obstacle to good attendance in 1888, when the Committee of Council noted:

There is a considerable class to whom the payment of school fees is a heavy burden, but whom it is inexpedient to send for help to the Parochial Board. For this class we are glad to notice that very abundant assistance is given by means of the endowments dealt with in recent schemes.¹⁵²

The rise in attendance of 2.22% and 3.9% in the two years after 1889, though small, is clear evidence that fee-paying did deter some parents from sending their children to school. Other factors were also involved. The Code of 1890 raised the attendance payment to 10s per child from 4s - this was a great incentive to local boards to enforce rigorously the compulsory clause. However, since Codes took effect from the beginning of the school session i.e. August 1890 - it seems likely that remission of fees in the previous year was certainly a factor in accounting for the rise in percentage attendance.

Given local and central experience of the harm caused to attendance by fees, why were they levied for so long? The more vocal sections of public opinion at this time were unfavourably disposed towards free education. Opinion among the inspectorate was generally against free education. Both Ogilvie and Marshall opposed it.¹⁵³ S.S. Laurie was somewhat ambiguous on the matter. In 1881 he believed that

the evils of free education have been much exaggerated. Is there a single Professor in the University, or a single member of the House of Lords who has not benefitted by education wholly or partly free?¹⁵⁴

By 1884 he was saying something rather different:

¹⁵² PP 1886 XLI Committee of Council p. xii.

¹⁵³ PP 1884-5 XXVI Ogilvie p. 164; PP 1888 XLI Marshall p. 255.

¹⁵⁴ S.S. Laurie: On the educational wants of Scotland etc. (Edinburgh 1881) p. 17.

Abolish fees and you finally put the parent in the position of abnegating his primary duties and delegating his responsibilities.¹⁵⁵

Apparently free education was only acceptable for the middle class; presumably they could not be corrupted by it. Laurie and his supporters did not go unopposed. Radical and some Liberal politicians believed that fee-paying was an obstacle for national education, and campaigned against it. A Liberal MP, Dr. Cameron, brought in a Bill for free education in 1881, which was soundly defeated. The contemporary economic difficulty facing the country perhaps had something to do with the Bill's defeat. Both Hobkirk and Glasgow school boards petitioned Parliament against the Bill.¹⁵⁶ Interestingly enough, Glasgow's objection was couched in high moral terms. Free education:

would to a very large and most injurious extent, discharge parents from a graver responsibility laid upon them by the Divine Law to provide for the education as well as for the food and raiment of their children.

Perhaps fear of Divine displeasure was the reason for the rather back-door arrival of free education in Scotland. The 1889 Local Government Act saw the Probate Duty Grant applied to reducing the rates in England; Scottish MP's, the majority of whom were Liberal (in a Unionist administration) had the grant applied to freeing education up to Standard V in Scotland. No moral or financial collapse followed, and in 1892, when the Probate Duty Grant was diverted to other ends, the Education and Local Taxation (Scotland) Act allowed for an annual grant in relief of school fees.

The figures for attendance for the '90's suggest that free education was indeed of benefit. Significantly, the percentage increase

¹⁵⁵ S.S. Laurie: Free education etc., etc. Chair of Institutes and History of Education introductory lecture 2nd Nov. 1884 p. 9.

¹⁵⁶ RCC Hobkirk SB Minutes 16/5/1881; Glasgow SB Minutes 14/3/1881.

in attendance was higher in the earlier part of the decade - see foot of page.¹⁵⁷ Later in the decade, the impact of free education was more muted; it seems unlikely that school boards, which were in a position to earn higher grants, due to increased allowances proportional to attendance¹⁵⁸ relaxed their efforts to enforce the compulsory clause. The abolition of fees did have an immediate effect on attendance, but this could not continue indefinitely increasing the numbers of children at school. Other factors were involved in the 1890's. There was a more rigorous policy with regard to attendance which resulted in part at least from the abolition of individual examination; a much higher proportion of the grant earned now came from attendance. The Code of 1890 offered an attendance grant of 10s. per child, with extra for Highland parishes,¹⁵⁹ which was much more than the 4s. per child offered by the Code of 1889.¹⁶⁰

Some school boards were unhappy at the prospect of free education. Lilliesleaf school board wanted free education only up to Standard IV. They feared the

risk of a deficiency in the fee account which might require in future to be made up out of the proceeds of the school rate.¹⁶¹

157	School Attendance - % increase.									
	1890	1891	1892	1893	1894	1895	1896	1897	1898	1899
	2.22	3.9	1.71	2.52	2.69	1.64	2.26	1.58	1.16	0.44

158 Code of 1892, Article 19 B 1 a) Average Attendance: Standard III: fair - 1s; good - 2s; excellent - 3s. The grant increased for higher Standards.

159 Code of 1890 Art. 19A 1.

160 Code of 1889 Art. 19 A 1.

161 RCC, Lilliesleaf SB Minutes 6/9/1889.

Kirkoswald school board had similar reservations.¹⁶² Most boards gave their teachers an average of the fees for the previous three years to make up for the abolition of fees. Hobkirk's school board generously made over all the Probate Duty Grant to its teacher.¹⁶³ Interestingly, these objections to the abolition of fees were all financial. Moralistic criticism was absent in Glasgow, too. The school board was against free education after Standard II, but merely minuted its protest.¹⁶⁴ The effect of free education on the city may be gauged from the fact that 695 pupils transferred (out of 1,022) from the fee-paying schools of the board, to the free board schools.¹⁶⁵ No such dramatic effect of the remission of school fees seems to have occurred in the other school board minute books examined - or if it did, it was not minuted. Indeed, the absentee rate at Dreghorn (admittedly not the same thing as the percentage of school-age children at school) seems to have been remarkably stable, despite the advent of the Probate Duty Grant. In Dreghorn and Springside schools respectively, the absentee rate for March 1888 was 16% and 14%; in February 1889 it was 11% and 18%; in April 1890, after the first instalment of Probate Duty Grant, the absentee rate was 12% and 18%; in February 1891 it was 10% and 17%. On the other hand, the Probate Duty Grant meant that in 1889, Dreghorn school board got an extra £68 17s 6d from the government; in 1890, the Grant was £119 12s. In 1887, the fee arrears for Dreghorn and Springside schools respectively were £99 and £181 (the government grant was £309 and £241 for these schools).¹⁶⁶ The rising level of fee arrears was undoubtedly one reason why most school boards were happy to accept the Probate Duty Grant in lieu of

¹⁶² ACC, Kirkoswald SB Minutes 7/9/1889. ¹⁶³ RCC Hobkirk SB Minutes 18/11/1889.
¹⁶⁴ GCA Glasgow SB Minutes 10/6/1889. ¹⁶⁵ Ibid 21/10/1889.
¹⁶⁶ ACC Dreghorn SB Minutes 21/10/1889; 4/8/1890; 5/1/1887.

fees. Evidence for the effect of the abolition of fees or the percentage of school age children in attendance at school has been shown to be more tenuous. The ending of fees seems to have increased attendance, and seems to have financially and organisationally benefitted school boards. Perhaps the clearest evidence of the benefit of remission of fees is the lack of criticism, firstly after 1889, and secondly after 1892. Certainly there was no immediate collapse in the moral fabric of the nation, and school attendance continued to rise.

Where attendance was concerned, local peculiarities were the determining factors. Although there was a legal obligation on school boards to enforce the compulsory clauses, many did not do their duty. In some cases, this was the result of employers of child labour also being school board members. The inspectors were particularly indignant about this.¹⁶⁷ In 1879, the school board of Kirkoswald in Ayrshire was imprudent enough to record in writing their dereliction of duty. Having noticed the shortage of agricultural labour, they decided that it was not

expedient at the present time to take any general measures to enforce the compulsory clauses of the Education Act.¹⁶⁸

That no Departmental sanctions were taken against the board is a telling illustration of the power of the localities.

The most effective way of enforcing attendance was to appoint a man whose job involved just that. Again, local action was the determining factor - there was no statutory obligation on a school board to appoint a school attendance officer. Of the school board records examined in detail, Glasgow once more led the way. The school board appointed a full-time officer at a salary of £180 per annum.¹⁶⁹ There were 1100

¹⁶⁷ PP 1878-9 XXV Scougal p. 199; 1881 XXXIV Walker p. 146; 1886 XXVII Andrew p. 230; 1888 XLI Dunn p. 210 - Macleod p. 280; 1900 XXIV Scougal p. 8.

¹⁶⁸ ACC Kirkoswald SB Minutes 7/6/1879. ¹⁶⁹ Glasgow SB Minutes 9/6/1873.

applicants for the posts of deputy attendance officer, of whom five were chosen at a weekly wage of £1 10s.¹⁷⁰ By 1893 there were forty-three attendance officers,¹⁷¹ who were busy men.

Several evening raids were made by the officers on children engaged in casual employment, and on each evening children were found who were in attendance at school during the day.¹⁷²

The other school boards, if they appointed an attendance officer at all, did so on a part-time basis. The Ancrum attendance officer was a bootmaker¹⁷³ who seems to have concentrated on the latter job, for in 1878 he was censured because his own son was not at school.¹⁷⁴ The Castleton attendance officer was a roadman,¹⁷⁵ while that of Kelso was a gardener.¹⁷⁶ These men were not always efficient, as the Ancrum example showed. St. Quivox had to appoint a new attendance officer in 1889, because their present non-resident officer could not do an effective job.¹⁷⁷ A few school boards tried to get the Inspector of Poor - often a retired schoolmaster - to act as attendance officer. Old Cumnock and Lilliesleaf school boards did this.¹⁷⁸ Others tried to combine two jobs, by arranging for the attendance officer to take the school census each year. This was the case in Kirkoswald and St. Quivox.¹⁷⁹ Similarly, Auchinleck school

¹⁷⁰ Glasgow SB Committee Minutes 21/8/1873.

¹⁷¹ Glasgow SB Minutes 16/1/1893. ¹⁷² Ibid 20/11/1893.

¹⁷³ RCC Ancrum SB Minutes 11/12/1875. ¹⁷⁴ Ibid 7/6/1878.

¹⁷⁵ RCC Castleton SB Minutes 17/4/1876. ¹⁷⁶ RCC Kelso SB Minutes 26/12/1873.

¹⁷⁷ ACC St. Quivox SB Minutes 2/7/1889.

¹⁷⁸ ACC Old Cumnock SB Minutes 5/9/1873; RCC Lilliesleaf SB Minutes 4/11/1876.

¹⁷⁹ ACC Kirkoswald SB Minutes 29/4/1876; St. Quivox SB Minutes 15/9/1873.

board appointed a joiner in 1892, because he could also report on the state of school board property.¹⁸⁰ Finally, a few school boards began to make full-time appointments. The job specification included janitorial duties, except in Hawick, but at least the school board was the full-time employer, which prevented conflicts of interest. Significantly, it was the three burghs of Hawick, Kelso and Old Cumnock which found this step necessary.¹⁸¹

There were, of course, other reasons than local laxity for bad attendance. Parental indifference was one which was criticised by the inspectors.¹⁸² Girls were all too often kept at home to "mind the bairns".¹⁸³ School boards did oppose this sort of exploitation if they could identify it. Old Cumnock school board refused to allow a girl who had failed Standard V to leave school at her father's request "to attend to his house work".¹⁸⁴ Similarly Hawick school board refused to allow a boy to become a half-timer to "run messages for his mother".¹⁸⁵ Significantly, both these cases occurred after 1890, when school boards could expect to earn more grant from good school attendance. Secondly, in each case, the school board administered an urban system of education. Things were rather different in the rural areas. Ogilvie noted¹⁸⁶ the disruption caused by the term flitting in agricultural areas. Agricultural

¹⁸⁰ ACC Auchinleck SB Minutes 13/10/1892.

¹⁸¹ ACC Hawick SB Committee Minutes 15/11/1893; ACC Kelso SB Minutes 12/7/1880; RCC Old Cumnock SB Minutes 3/5/1899.

¹⁸² PP 1878-9 XXV Sime p. 215; PP 1888 XLI Robertson p. 278.

¹⁸³ PP 1877 XXXII Ogilvie p. 143. ¹⁸⁴ ACC Old Cumnock SB Minutes 22/3/1894.

¹⁸⁵ RCC Hawick SB Committee Minute Book 27/1/1891.

¹⁸⁶ PP 1877 XXXII Ogilvie p. 143.

peculiarities could also affect attendance; in Orkney and the Western Isles, the lack of fencing meant that children were employed to herd beasts and keep them out of the growing crops. In a sense, rural children were almost obliged to help out on the farm. Usually it was not for direct financial gain, but more a case of lending a hand where agricultural necessity required. A parent who had his child to help on the farm or croft was not out deliberately to harm that child's education. Harm was done, of course, but not on so organised a basis as factory employment - i.e. it was not on a permanent basis. However it must still be admitted that rural areas had a much poorer record in enforcing attendance. The lack of, or part-time employment of, attendance officers has already been dealt with.

The school board members themselves sometimes had an interest in employing child agricultural labour. Even those who did not directly employ children on the land ensured that child labour was available. The summer "holidays" at Loth in 1873 included one month at harvest.¹⁸⁷ The same was true in Castleton, Creich, and Daviot and Dunlichty.¹⁸⁸ The exigencies of the northern harvest resulted in the last-mentioned school board fixing the date of the "summer holiday" between 11th September and 10th October. Latterly, this encouragement to poor attendance was dealt with. As already mentioned, the inspectorate criticised the practice of child labour. School boards were reminded that employers of non-exempted children could be prosecuted, as well as the parents. However, with the expected exception of Glasgow, a careful reading of the school board minutes produced only one rural school board prepared to do this - or prepared to minute its action in prosecuting employers. That

¹⁸⁷ SCC Loth SB Minutes 7/6/1873.

¹⁸⁸ RCC Castleton SB Minutes 22/7/1873; SCC Creich SB Minutes 10/6/1875; ICC Daviot and Dunlichty SB Minutes 28/7/1874.

board was Creich in Sutherland. The parish was enormous and very sparsely populated. However, there seems to have been a genuine interest in education. Many were employed as shepherds, a group traditionally enthusiastic about education - there were two petitions for schools at Glen Cassley and Benmore, and in each case the parents were prepared to provide a school-house.¹⁸⁹ The school board records show a number of employers either prosecuted, or threatened with prosecution.¹⁹⁰ It is not the number of such cases that is significant; it is the fact that the board was prepared to prosecute at all. There may have been many temptations to parents and employers in rural areas to harm the education of their children; the Creich example shows that some boards at least were prepared to resist temptation and punish those who succumbed.

Even politics played a part in diminishing attendance. In 1887, during crofting unrest, Sime noted "as in certain parts of the district lawlessness has increased, so has attendance dwindled".¹⁹¹ This corroborated the fear of the SED that some small Highland school boards,

owing to non-payment of school rates, may be compelled to close their schools or to leave the teachers to carry on at their own risk.¹⁹²

The government did however try to remedy this situation by means of special SED grants. Four boards did in fact become bankrupt - fees in 1887 were £5 1s, when they should have been £945 - they also lost £450 by poor attendance.¹⁹³ The initial reaction of the SED to the boards

¹⁸⁹ SCC Creich SB Minutes 14/3/1878; 6/12/1883.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid 22/6/1881; 23/6/1885; 28/6/1887; 5/11/1890.

¹⁹¹ PP 1888 XLI Sime p. 278.

¹⁹² PP 1886 XXVII Committee of Council p. xxix.

¹⁹³ Day op cit p. 160. In 1888 Barvas school board had 200 school age children in the district, of whom 160 were on the roll; only 80 were in average attendance, and only 40 were qualified to be examined. No wonder so much money was lost by poor attendance! Source: PP 1888, XLI Ogilvie p. 279.

of Barra, Lochs, Uig, and Harris was, to say the least, unhelpful - they were attacked for extravagance.¹⁹⁴ However, cooler action followed, and together with nine other boards in Ross and Inverness, they were re-organised under Section 22 of the 1872 Act - three managers were appointed, one being the district HMI.¹⁹⁵ As a result of this action and improved grant benefits, there was a dramatic improvement in attendance between 1888 and 1892. Attendance increased in Skye by 41%; in Lewis by 26%; in Harris, South Uist and Barra, by 12%.¹⁹⁶ This improvement might have come about anyway, with the quieter political situation; the ending of fee paying probably helped as well. However, the example does serve to illustrate the idea that on occasion, when educational administration became too difficult for the local boards, central government was prepared to step in with organisational and financial aid.

We have already discussed poverty as a reason for the non-payment of fees. It was also the usual excuse given by the parents for non-attendance by their children - they lacked clothes or shoes. In general, the inspectors discounted such explanations. The following description of a school inspection, when incidentally, the children usually wore the best clothes they could, suggests that this parental excuse was not entirely specious:

There is something inexpressibly touching and encouraging in a sight one often sees in the worst weather of the year - little fellows with their fathers' blue trousers braced up to their chins and rolled up from their bare chapped feet, and girls to whom their mothers' Sunday shawls are jacket and skirt in one, facing the inspector in the proud consciousness of unimpeachable attendance, and of complete victory over 'tables' and all the 'spellings' in the book!¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁴ Day op cit p. 159.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid p. 160

¹⁹⁶ Ibid p. 162.

¹⁹⁷ PP 1878-9 XXV Sime p. 217.

The Board of Education was more sympathetic to this plea of poverty than the inspectorate. In 1875 the former body noted that it was difficult to enforce the compulsory clause in districts like Clyne in Sutherland, and Dalry in Ayrshire, because the children had no clothes or shoes to wear.¹⁹⁸

It may also be suspected that many of the children were undernourished. There was evidence to this effect. Both Alexander Buchanan, surgeon on Tyree, and Donald Cameron, schoolmaster at Creich, told the Napier Commissioners of this.¹⁹⁹ They believed that the worst-nourished and worst-attending children came from cottar families, even less economically secure than the crofters. Dr. Wilson praised Edinburgh school board which had

by the aid of public subscriptions, supplied warm dinners to the poor children attending the public schools, with the result that the attendance was more regular and better than formerly during the winter months, while the children were more cheerful and took a greater interest in their lessons.²⁰⁰

In 1884, Dr. Ogilvie wrote in favour of "hot dinners at a 1d. a head"²⁰¹ along the lines of those organised by the Countess of Aberdeen. Some school board members were less enthusiastic about hot meals for school children. One Creich member wrote

the children in Creich Parish look stout and healthy, as a rule - they get a piece with them from their houses and seem to do well on it. To commence to assist working people when they do not require it, is tending to make them lose their dependence on themselves, and ultimately to pauperize them.²⁰²

These meals depended on local charity and organisation - those at Creich

¹⁹⁸ PP 1875, Report of the Board of Education for Scotland, Clyne and Dalry.

¹⁹⁹ NC PP 1884, XXXV p. 2149 and p. 2233. ²⁰⁰ PP 1886 XXVII Wilson p. 160.

²⁰¹ PP 1884-5 XXVI Ogilvie p. 175.

²⁰² SCC Creich SB Minutes 16/12/1883.

were organised by the wife of the Free Church minister. These organisational difficulties meant that this nutritional aid was not widespread. School work continued to suffer and attendance was lower, in the winter months. It seems possible that better-nourished children would have been more regular attenders at school. Epidemics seem to have been a perennial feature of school life, according to the minute books. On very many occasions so many children were off sick that schools had to be closed. This was the case at Ancrum, Hawick Burgh, Kelso and St. Boswells.²⁰³ These school closures all occurred in Roxburgh, apparently a wealthy agricultural area. Rural poverty for many was still extreme - St. Boswells school board minute book recorded that one child was a poor attender because of rickets²⁰⁴ - her family lived on the estate of the Honourable Mrs. Dalrymple who was asked to present prizes to local schoolchildren.²⁰⁵ Her benevolence might have been better directed. The aftermath of diseases like measles was often a long-term debility or ill nourished children. Creich school board in Sutherland excused six children whose parents presented this reason to them for the poor attendance of their children.²⁰⁶ We may take it that this excuse was genuine; unlike many other school boards examined, Creich made a determined effort to enforce good attendance, even going so far, a costly business for a poor parish, as to appoint two attendance officers - one for the east and one for the west of the parish.²⁰⁷

As well as more general reasons for poor attendance, including also the effects of trade depressions and strikes,²⁰⁸ there were more personal

²⁰³ RCC Ancrum SB Minutes 16/6/1900; Hawick Burgh SB Minutes 20/4/1897; Kelso SB Minutes 17/11/75; St. Boswells SB Minutes 12/7/1876.

²⁰⁴ RCC St. Boswells SB Minutes 5/1/1883. ²⁰⁵ Ibid 31/5/1898.

²⁰⁶ SCC Creich SB Minutes 28/6/1887. ²⁰⁷ Ibid 25/8/1876.

²⁰⁸ PP 1888 XLI Scougal p. 192; Jolly p. 235; PP 1880 XXIV Smith p. 161.

reasons. One may speculate how many Gaelic-speaking children were antagonistic towards a school where they could not even speak Gaelic in the playground.²⁰⁹ The effect of education on her other children - they had all left home - drove a woman in Ardnamurchan to keep her youngest child from school. She told the inspector, Dr. Ogilvie, that "the school board would not get this one!"²¹⁰

Although the catalogue of reasons for non-attendance seems all too substantial, there was considerable room for optimism in the growing percentage of those at school. Between 1873 and 1874 the percentage increase in school attendance was a staggering 19.6%.^{*} The percentage increase for the following school year was still high at 15%. The numbers attending continued to rise after these years, though at a slower rate. The SED calculated these statistics of increased attendance from the annual returns of numbers in average attendance at aided schools. These figures are not an index of increased numbers on school rolls, but a fairly reliable guide to the numbers of children who were being educated on a regular basis. Given that, we may certainly agree with the cautious optimism of the Department at the progress of national education in Scotland. This rise was not, however, an even process. Between 1881 and 1882, a bad time in economic terms for Scotland, the percentage increase was only 1.32%, but it still represented an educational gain. Similarly 1889-90 was again a time of difficulty, aggravated by northern unrest, and the percentage rise was only 1.27%. The figures for the two following years are interesting, at 2.22% and 3.9%. It seems likely as has been already discussed, that this was connected with the abolition of fees for junior standards, and with the increase in the attendance

209 PP 1884-5 XXVI Report on Highland Schools by Henry Craik, Senior Examiner in the Scotch Education Department p. 8.

210 PP 1890 XXXI Ogilvie p. 253.

* Table 3.

grant from 4s to 10s per pupil in average attendance in the Code of 1890. This gave an incentive even to lax school boards to enforce attendance, and so earn the higher grant. The complete abolition of all Standard fees in session 1893/4 accounted, it appears, for the slight rise of 2.26% in that year.

What made for the steady increase in school attendance after 1872 was the operation of the compulsory clause. It may not always have been conscientiously enforced, especially in the rural areas, but it remained the ultimate sanction against a parent who did not fulfil his legal duty. It appears that the operation of the clause in relation to defaulters - parents were summoned to a school board meeting to explain themselves - was an occasion of anxiety for some. One father, possibly of a timid disposition, wrote to Creich School to explain his children's absence.

John MacLeod declared that he could not go to the house where his wife and children live for fear of a row. He proposed to his wife to pay weekly for his son Neil... on condition he would regularly go to school. She spurned the offer, ordered him out of the house, and told him he had no right to her, or the children, or the house.²¹¹

Legislation clearly could not deal with every case of bad attendance. However, there were attempts to stop up the larger loopholes. There were some minor improvements - Section 5, 2, of the Education (Scotland) Act of 1878 raised the age at which a child could claim exemption without passing an educational test from the compulsory provisions of the Act, from thirteen to fourteen. It also permitted the school board to force, after application to the sheriff, the Parochial Board to pay the fees of needy children. The Education (Scotland) Act, 1883 amended Section 69 of the 1872 Act and defined efficient education. It further permitted

²¹¹ SCC Creich Minutes 26/2/1889.

actions against defaulters to be brought at courts of summary jurisdiction, and not just before the Sheriff Court. Again, it was not a perfect solution. HMI Mr. Harvey pointed out that attendance would only become better when "The machinery for compelling attendance is entirely independent of local influence".²¹² It was not enough to present more efficient means of legal enforcement of attendance; there also had to be a real local desire to make use of the new machinery of the law. However, this did answer Highland complaints that the Sheriff Court was at too great a distance to permit poor people to travel - Dornoch was over sixty miles from the western parts of Sutherland.²¹³ All these amendments were designed to prevent parents from slipping out through loopholes in the law to enforce compulsory education. The boards still had to enforce the law, but given that they were willing, the machinery existed to do so efficiently. The abolition of fees, facilitated by the Probate Duty Grant of 1889, removed the final obstacle to good attendance. In this area of school organisation at least, the Act of 1872 with subsequent amendments was of paramount importance.

Section 6. Accommodation in Scottish Schools: Theory and Practice.

Close government attention to the way schools were built between 1840 and 1872 was difficult, owing to the way in which the building grants were administered. The government granted half the cost, and the locality raised the rest. The weakness of this policy has already been noted; the prosperous districts could afford good educational provision; the poorer areas could not, and did not. Where the style of buildings was concerned, it was hoped that those provided by government help

²¹² PP 1883 XLI Harvey p. 256.

²¹³ PP 1883 XXVI Committee of Council p. xv.

would be a model for the rest of the country.²¹⁴ The Privy Council Committee for Education had the right to approve finally plans for schools and schoolhouses where it offered building grants. The aim was to produce a building acceptable in price to the locality, and in accomodation to the centre. There was a model plan, improved on from time to time, which was submitted to local managers applying for a Privy Council's building grant. No gross deviations were permitted from this.

The Privy Council tried to see that at least minimal building standards were followed. Their Schedule of Questions to Normal and model schools included enquiries as to the proximity of noxious trades, drainage, cost, etc.²¹⁵ It does seem that schools in receipt of government grant were generally better. There were good reasons for this. The standard set by the Privy Council for the size of schoolhouse in an aided school was much higher than that set by various Acts for parochial schoolhouses. In the latter view, a two-roomed building was acceptable; the Privy Council demanded a minimum of four rooms in a schoolhouse. Coupled with the need to pay more than the minimum salary laid down by the various Acts, it is not surprising that in 1854, only 124 of 1,049 parochial schools were in receipt of government grants.²¹⁶ This is one instance where government interference did help to raise standards in the localities. The 1867 Schools Inquiry described two schools, eight miles apart. Bowden Parish school which was improved to Privy Council standards, had a grant of £18.15s. a roll of sixty seven, and a "Good schoolroom, and dwellinghouse of eight apartments"; Blainslie Subscription

²¹⁴ PP 1864 XLV Woodford p. 249.

²¹⁵ PP 1844 XXXVIII Minutes in Council as to Distribution of Parliamentary Grant for Promotion of Education p. 3, Questions 7, 8 and 9.

²¹⁶ Bone, op cit p. 44.

school in the same county had a roll of seventy one, no grant, and was "A miserable thatched house, with small windows and low ceiling."²¹⁷

In 1872, public school accommodation offered 281,688 places; by 1899, the total was 866,066.²¹⁸ Indeed, the total was even better than it sounded - the 1872 figure had been calculated at 8 sq. ft. per child; the 1899 figure allowed 10 sq. ft.²¹⁹ Sometimes it was a struggle to achieve these improvements in the gross school accommodation available. Some local boards were extremely reluctant to spend money on increasing school accommodation. The objectors usually argued that there was already sufficient accommodation for local needs. Other objections concerned the area required for each child in new schools. Old Cumnock school board believed the standard of accommodation set was too high.²²⁰ The following year, the board minuted its displeasure: "the School Board may have no other option but to erect a School for 662 children, but they do not consider it necessary."²²¹ With regard to Old Cumnock Schoolhouse, we may see the attitudes which the Committee of Council had had to face before the 1872 Act, in its efforts to secure improved accommodation:

the accommodation required by the SED for Teachers' Houses in order to obtain the Government Building Grant would make the Dwellinghouse much too large for the district.²²²

Occasionally, school board plans were criticised by the central authority for providing more than was considered necessary. Auchinleck School board faced this problem.

²¹⁷ PP 1867 XXVI Registrars of Births, Deaths and Marriages.

²¹⁸ PP 1900 XXIV Committee of Council p. 7.

²¹⁹ Code 1900, Art. 17 C - began 1887.

²²⁰ ACC Old Cumnock SB Minutes 1/9/1873.

²²¹ Ibid 9/4/1874.

²²² Ibid 16/4/1874.

A letter from the Board of Education was read enquiring why this Board proposed to provide accommodation for 110 pupils when there were but 70 in the district; and the Secretary was instructed to reply that the Iron Company were opening up some mines in the district, which would cause a large increase in population.²²³

This was one case where the benefit of a local school board with local knowledge was clearly illustrated. However, on occasion local wishes in regard to school buildings had to be denied. The Teviotdale Record reported that Sir George Douglas, who wanted a projecting roof on the new school had been told by Anstrum School board "the Board did not consider themselves justified in spending public money for mere ornament."²²⁴ Clearly, the provision of school accommodation was something local people felt strongly about. It was an achievement for the Department that over the years a reasonably adequate standard was achieved, and local needs were considered. Of course, the Department did have the ultimate sanction - it could refuse grant if the accommodation was sub-standard and the school board showed no desire to improve on it. Symington School board was only prodded into building activity when grant was refused on this ground in 1875.²²⁵

Traditional local patterns of schooling could also put obstacles in the way of a standard system of education. Dundee was in a particularly difficult position:

I do not think there was a town in Scotland where there were so many adventure schools before the passing of the Act. Very curiously when the School Board of Dundee came into existence we had not one school under our charge ... The most of them were adventure schools, and they have still lingered on.²²⁶

²²³ ACC Auchinleck SB Minutes 25/7/1874.

²²⁴ National Library of Scotland (hereafter NLS) Ms 8079, Douglas of Springwood Park, pp. 211, Teviotdale Record 21/7/1877.

²²⁵ ACC Symington SB Minutes 5/8/1875.

²²⁶ PP 1888, XLI Commission on Adventure Schools, Minutes of Evidence. Evidence of Ex-Provost Moncur of Dundee, Q 3837.

This affected the standard of education. One such adventure school was described in 1888 in terms which would not have been out of place in the Argyll Commission twenty years earlier.

The last one visited meets in what has evidently been a grocer's shop. The one master had about 80 children of from four or five to thirteen or fourteen years of age crowded into it. There seemed to be little or no attempt at organisation, and only a shadow of alertness maintained. The highest class was examined for labour certificates, with the result that only five were able to pass the simple requirements of the elementary subjects in the 3rd Standard. And this was by no means the worst specimen of adventure schools.²²⁷

This was, of course, an adventure, not a board school. The very fact that HMI Mr. Calder picked it out as an example shows just how far board school education had progressed in contrast. Improvements had been made, and they were very necessary. Once a national system of education was embarked upon it was no wonder that standards were higher than they had been earlier. As the inspectors travelled round the country, they noted ways of possible improvement. They suggested, and later insisted on, better methods of sanitation, ventilation, and sub-division of classrooms. They also took note of the special difficulties of Highland and Island school boards, and hence achieved for them higher government grants.

Where sanitation was concerned, the inspectors had to counter casual peasant attitudes. In Hobkirk in Roxburghshire, it was a great improvement in sanitation in the school when dry privies were built; previously, children had used the nearby wood.²²⁸ Where offices (the nineteenth century euphemism for lavatories) were provided, "it is the rule rather than the exception to find the offices in a filthy condition".²²⁹

²²⁷ PP 1888, XLI Calder p. 275.

²²⁸ RCC Hobkirk SB Minutes 17/3/1879.

²²⁹ PP 1878-9 XXV Macleod p. 158.

The Circular of 29/7/80 offered a model bye-law, not compulsory, for the construction and cleansing of school offices. It suggested:

Supervision needs to be given day by day, particularly at first, and in the case that children are not used to water-closets.²³⁰

All too often it was clear that day by day supervision was not given. The Reports by the inspectorate make this very clear. Writing on the walls then as now was a common practice for children. HMI's Scougal²³¹ and Jolly²³² complained of this practice, while HMI Mr. Stewart had this remedy: "Twice I recommended reduction of grant for offensiveness and indecent scribbling."²³³ As late as 1895 HMI Mr. Smith had cause to complain about the state of the boys' toilets at Whitletts School under St. Quivox school board.²³⁴ The board decided to deal with this by having the privies remodelled, to stop the "boys standing on seats."²³⁵ Clearly the inspectorate could not immediately enforce their views on sanitation. There was, however, one section of the SED's rules on sanitation that was enforced, that demanding separate entrances for the sexes to offices. Lilliesleaf school board lost one-tenth of its government grant in 1883 for lack of this provision.²³⁶

It was also the policy of the inspectorate to demand good ventilation. Perhaps an element of self-interest dictated this. HMI Mr. Barrie wrote in 1880:

when I have been unable to remain in the room till some degree of ventilation was obtained, I have found scholars and teachers working in apparent comfort quite unconscious of the poisonous nature of the air they were breathing.²³⁷

-
- | | |
|--|---|
| 230 PP 1880 XXIV <u>Committee of Council</u> . | 231 PP 1878-79 XXV <u>Scougal</u> p. 207. |
| 232 PP 1880 XXIV <u>Jolly</u> p. 133. | 233 PP 1883 XXVI <u>Stewart</u> p. 186. |
| 234 ACC St. Quivox SB Minutes 30/7/1895. | 235 Ibid 3/8/1895. |
| 236 RCC Lilliesleaf SB Minutes 3/2/1883. | 237 PP 1881 XXIV <u>Barrie</u> , p. 116. |

When ventilation was working, there were complaints from parents and children. Lilliesleaf parents complained that their children caught cold in the draught caused by ventilators being open.²³⁸ Favourable references to school ventilation were few. One rare approving mention went to Govan school board school at Hillhead, where the system was powered by a gas engine pump.²³⁹ Often it took a number of years before a satisfactory solution was reached. In 1876 Old Cumnock pupils were complaining about a cold wind from the ventilators, so shutters were installed.²⁴⁰ Later complaints about the ventilators resulted in a board decision that they be "adjusted to suit the teachers."²⁴¹ Three years later HMI Mr. Bathgate insisted on still further improvements in the ventilators.²⁴² Apparently that solved the problem, for there were no more complaints, but it took five years for a satisfactory system to evolve. The school boards persevered. Even today, a board school is easily recognisable by its roof ventilators.

In one respect at least, the inspectors changed school organisation for the better. Between 1881 and 1884, Reports were full of uncomplimentary references to defects in school class organisation. The crux of the problem lay in the fact that

Knowledge of school-keeping does not come to architects by nature, and yet, speaking for the three counties which comprise my district, neither myself, nor any other professional educationist, so far as I can answer, was consulted in the construction of a single school.²⁴³

²³⁸ RCC Lilliesleaf SB Minutes 3/2/1883. ²³⁹ PP 1890, XXXI, Ogilvie p. 247.

²⁴⁰ ACC Old Cumnock SB Minutes 21/12/1876. ²⁴¹ Ibid 5/9/1878.

²⁴² Ibid 28/4/1881. ²⁴³ PP 1882 XXV Ogilvie p. 140.

That may have been so for Ogilvie's district (Dumbarton, Stirling and Clackmannan) but at least one school board, Old Cumnock, consulted its teachers as to whether they preferred "a school on the broad or narrow principle."²⁴⁴ - i.e. two or one classroom wide. On the other hand, that was the only instance discovered; it was also the only instance where it appears that the board set out with a real intention to build something splendid. (I exclude Glasgow because its buildings, though splendid in effect - e.g. Alexandra Parade Public School - were designed to meet a utilitarian aim). Old Cumnock School in Barrhill Road was built according to "the Gothic style of architecture"²⁴⁵ and its foundation stone was laid with "Masonic honours".²⁴⁶ Not all boards provided the bare Code minimum. Nevertheless, it was often difficult for the inspectorate to see that even this was achieved. The ideal for the organisation of school accommodation was to have "a room for every class according to the size of the class."²⁴⁷ Nevertheless, it should be remembered that even now some small rural primary schools function quite happily with eighty pupils in four rooms. Of course, each teacher does have his own room. That was not the case for much of the nineteenth century. The reality then was more likely to be: "Huge rooms, in which two or three teachers shout each other down..."²⁴⁸ Auchinleck school board noted that "Much loud speaking is required on account of the number of classes requiring to be taught in one room."²⁴⁹ One of the reasons

²⁴⁴ ACC Old Cumnock SB Minutes 6/6/1874.

²⁴⁵ Ibid 7/1/1875.

²⁴⁶ Ibid 6/5/1875.

²⁴⁷ PP 1882 XXV Marshall p. 128.

²⁴⁸ PP 1882 XXV Ogilvie p. 140.

²⁴⁹ ACC Auchinleck SB Minutes 9/9/1880.

for this was

a prevalent popular notion of some latent virtue inherent in the head-master's eye.²⁵⁰

There was also the need to overcome rural conservatism - most of the towns had to build large schools and soon found out the need for subdivision of accommodation. Furthermore, when schools were built in rural areas immediately after 1872, there was usually only one teacher, perhaps with a pupil teacher, or a sewing mistress, in the school. The increasing sophistication of the curriculum, and more stringent code requirements forced the appointment of further staff. In these circumstances, the single schoolroom made highly unsatisfactory accommodation. The inspectorate, visiting as they did large numbers of schools, quickly saw this difficulty and began to press for improvements. This particular campaign bore fruit. By 1885, Ogilvie was able to write: "A separate room for each teacher is at last coming to be an accepted educational axiom".²⁵¹ School boards did their best. Old Cumnock school board partitioned up its large school room.²⁵² There were similar improvements at Ancrum,²⁵³ Dreghorn²⁵⁴ (though one "division" was nothing but a curtain), Old Cumnock²⁵⁵ (on the direct recommendation of the HMI) and Muirkirk.²⁵⁶ Hawick Burgh school board also improved the accommodation at Trinity school.²⁵⁷

²⁵⁰ PP 1882 XXV Ogilvie p. 140.

²⁵¹ PP 1886 XXVII Ogilvie p. 229.

²⁵² ACC Old Cumnock SB Minutes 28/4/1882.

²⁵³ RCC Ancrum SB Minutes 22/8/1888.

²⁵⁴ ACC Dreghorn SB Minutes 23/4/1894.

²⁵⁵ ACC Old Cumnock SB Minutes 3/7/1884.

²⁵⁶ ACC Muirkirk SB Minutes 10/8/1894.

²⁵⁷ RCC Hawick Burgh SB Minutes 21/1/1889.

By 1886, school provision in central, southern and eastern Scotland, was almost complete, and physical conditions were much improved too. There were a few black spots left, such as Stirlingshire, but this was not really the fault of the boards. The main occupation of the people was mining, and this meant a large and shifting population.²⁵⁸ The same was true for Ayrshire. Part of the deficiency in school accommodation in these mining areas was met by the Roman Catholics. They provided schools (with varying approval from the local school boards) at Muirkirk, Old Cumnock and Dalmellington.²⁵⁹ Clearly, it was not an easy task to accommodate a fluctuating population. The Department and the local school boards and the voluntary bodies all could take credit for the relatively satisfactory educational situation in southern Scotland fourteen years after the Act.

Northern areas were less well-endowed. The Board of Education noted that school boards in Sutherland were very slow to build, because they hoped to benefit from the extra grants for building which were received by boards in the counties of Inverness, Ross, Cromarty, Argyll, Orkney and Shetland.²⁶⁰ In 1885, Sutherland also came into the scheme. Remote areas also found it difficult and expensive to procure workmen and building materials.²⁶¹ Certain concessions were made to schools in remote areas. These improvements did not relate directly to the accommodation provided, but they did make it more profitable for Highland school boards to fill their schools and hence utilise their school accommodation to the full. The 1885²⁶² Minute allowed an extra 1s. per

²⁵⁸ PP 1886 XXVII Waddell p. 201.

²⁵⁹ ACC Muirkirk SB Minutes 14/5/1883; Old Cumnock SB Minutes 29/3/1887; Dalmellington SB Minutes 9/6/1887.

²⁶⁰ PP 1877 XXXII Board of Education p. viii.

²⁶¹ PP 1877 XXXII Board of Education p. vii. Few had the necessary skills, and transport costs were high.

²⁶² PP 1884-5 XXVI Committee of Council Minute of 30/4/1885

head for every 10% in attendance above 50%, to a maximum of 8s. (earned by 80% and over attendance). There were also extra grants for Gaelic-speaking pupil teachers instructing infants. After the troubles of the '80's in crofting areas, the Minute of 1888 allowed certain school boards, thirteen in all, to renounce all or part of the debt accumulated while the crofters were on rate strike. The Code of 1888 added Gaelic to the list of specific subjects. All these concessions encouraged school board members to take a genuine and informed interest in their schools. School boards like that at Loth which expressed ignorant surprise at the fact that inkwells were cut into desks (they thought inkpots should stand on the surface)²⁶³ still existed after 1886, but they were a minority. The Department hoped it would no longer be necessary for their inspectors to express disgust at poor attendance - the Clyne record was described as the "foulest blot" - or amazement at the bad accommodation of schools recognised as efficient by school boards - e.g. Loth.²⁶⁴ Through its inspectors' Reports, the SED had a very good idea of the splendour and squalor of local educational provision. It did its best to encourage the former and discourage the latter.

Where accommodation was concerned, the Act of 1872 had little direct effect. Certainly, all schools in receipt of government grants, building and earned, had to conform to a certain pattern. Local peculiarities and experience soon dictated changes, however. It was not enough merely to set out general rules. It was necessary to have a system that was flexible enough to recommend and carry out necessary changes. The Codes were flexible enough and had power enough (through

²⁶³ SCC Loth SB Minutes 31/5/1879.

²⁶⁴ PP 1882, XXV Sime pp. 182 and 179.

finance) to achieve this aim. The very fact that they were formally approved by Parliament may not have been, in some senses, democratic; but it was a speedy and efficient way of achieving useful change, as long as the Department was well-informed about local needs and deficiencies. The annual Reports of the inspectorate gave just that information. Major changes in policy required major legislation, however. The coincidence of the 1885 Secretary for Scotland Act and extra funds to remote areas should not be dismissed. On a lower level, the same applies to recommendations made by the inspectors and their later fulfillment. Sometimes this was the result of direct SED rulings; more often it was as a result of continued recommendations by inspectors to individual school boards and teachers.

Conclusion

There can be no doubt that in some senses, the Act of 1872 was indeed a watershed. It enforced compulsory education, demanded well-trained teachers, defined their conditions of employment, and removed sectarian discrimination in religious instruction. So it appeared on the face of things. Other facets of school organisation, particularly the curriculum, fees, and accommodation, were more affected by the Codes and later amending Acts. Furthermore, practical experience - for example, inspectors watching the chaos in one schoolroom with two or three teachers trying to instruct six Standards - could also recommend changes in class organisation.

In addition, no matter how rigid were the rules made by Act, local opinion and action, or inaction, affected enforcement. So Kirkoswald could decide at will to dispense with the compulsory clause. Glasgow could go so far as to appoint a full-time attendance officer at a salary of £180 per annum.²⁶⁵ Bedrule appointed no such officer. Which case was "typical"? Shall we choose Glasgow, because, with a population of around half a million in the 1870's, it was responsible for the education of about one-fifth of all Scottish children? What then of Dundee with its tremendous initial obstacles of half-timers and adventure schools? What of religious tolerance when we look at South Uist in the '70's and early '80's? The population there was mainly Roman Catholic, but because of the property qualification for school board voting, the local board members were largely Protestant. There was no persecution of Catholics, but at the same time, no teachers of the Roman Catholic denomination were

²⁶⁵ GCA, Glasgow SB Minutes 9/6/73.

appointed until the 1890's. In a sense, every school board has a claim to be considered as a "special case" with special local difficulties or advantages. Even one personality, as at Clyne, could produce a unique situation for district education. Is there any common ground at all?

Can we say, for example, that the Act provided, at its very lowest, a guide to the best practice for the localities? In general, this is true. Individual differences, on this analysis, arise in the rate at which the districts conform with best practice. The slow rise of school attendance is one example of this - and that had both legal penalties on the parents to back it up, and financial penalties, in the shape of reduced grants, on the local boards. It will be agreed by all but the "de-schoolers" that a rise in attendance encouraged by the central authority is an educational benefit. The same goes for improvements in accommodation. However, when applied to the curriculum, in the sense of standardisation, it may at least be argued about. Was it of educational benefit to Scotland to encourage a certain type of curriculum, one first evolved in England? Contemporaries debated this at length. The end result by 1899 was a broadly-based primary education, very different from the narrow emphasis on the 3R's of the 1870's. Secondary education within the board schools fared differently - but this will be discussed at length later. Thus far, the argument suggests that the central authority was the prime mover of educational change; the local boards merely reacted against central direction.

In some cases, however, the localities imposed their practice upon the centre. The poverty of small school boards and those in the crofting areas in particular forced the centre to offer concessions. Hence the Elementary Education Act of 1876 offered an extra £10 per annum to school boards where the population within two miles of a school was less than

300. The Education and Local Taxation (Scotland) Act of 1892 gave direct help to the crofting areas. Section 2 (5) allowed part of the Equivalent Grant to be used for roads. Day suggests²⁶⁶ that this clause was the result of action by the parents of Fidigaray in Lochs who kept their children from school because there was no road or footpath between their homes and the school.

Nor would it be true to conclude, that the Act meant virtually nothing in organisational terms for Scottish education. A common code of practice was introduced. The centre had the ultimate say in educational standards. It was in particular terms that differences showed themselves. This lack of total uniformity was perhaps in the long-run of benefit to nineteenth century Scottish education. The fact that a monolithic system could not be imposed meant that the central authority, the SED, had to react to local needs and also be sensitive to political change. It was not enough for the SED to censure the four bankrupt school boards - it had to react to their plight in order to ensure that some form of education was carried on there. The annual Report of the Inspectorate constantly reminded the Department that in practice the Scottish educational system did not conform in every detail to the format laid out in the Codes and the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act. It was obvious that it never would. The SED was therefore willing to amend the Codes and have amended certain details of the 1872 Act, partly to stop up loopholes, but also, at least in the Highlands, to amend the very spirit of earlier practice. Having warned against blind acceptance of the idea that the 1872 Act and the Codes were all-powerful in Scottish education, let us examine briefly what was achieved.

²⁶⁶ Day op cit, p. 327.

Attendance was compulsory; accommodation was to be satisfactory; teachers were to be efficient and/or trained; religious instruction was non-sectarian; certain basic literacy standards were accepted and enforced; finally, the educational system was truly national. The Codes dealt with the minutiae of school organisation where the whole country was concerned. So too, in national terms, did the amending Acts put right anomalies in the Act of 1872. Practical experience accounted for further changes. Local conditions and exceptions, while fascinating for the historian to follow up, should not blind us to the fact that in overall organisational terms, the Act of 1872 was indeed a watershed for Scottish education.

CHAPTER 4

LIFE IN THE SCHOOLROOM AFTER 1872:TEACHERS AT WORK: PUPILS AND SOCIAL MOBILITY

24th May - Took breakfast, ate three eggs, wife a little sulky; opened school at ten, locked the key to Hutton's Arithmetic, found the boys riotous, put three to the peat-neuk; opened a new Latin class, saw a beauty in Horace I had not seen before. Boys still riotous, put two more to the peat-neuk; plied my cane freely, broke it over a young rascal's head, had a sorry day's teaching; let the school out an hour earlier than usual, looked at my lancets, went and bled a female friend; met at her house a young man from Edinburgh, a doctor, found much medical knowledge in him; came home, wife in better humour, planted some cabbage, took the cow to the bull.¹

That was a day in the life of a Kirkcudbrightshire teacher before 1872. Some of the days of a Sutherlandshire teacher could be just as pleasant.

I did fush too mäch. When the river wud be in good trum I wud often be giving the boys a holiday or two.²

Compare these with the reprimand issued to the teacher of the school at Camlachie in Glasgow who had had the temerity to close his school a little early because of the poor attendance.³ Compare also this agitated entry in the log-book of Napiershall Street School:

Learned this morning that Sir John Neilson Cuthbertson had called about 3.30, three minutes after I had left.⁴

The apprehension is clear. These contrasting examples suggest that before 1872, the teacher had a much freer hand in the organisation of his school.

¹ Quoted in J.A. Russell: History of Education in Kirkcudbright (1951) p. 81 - Laurieston school.

² J. Kerr: Memories, Grave and Gay: Forty Years of School Inspection (1902) p. 54.

³ GCA Glasgow SB Minutes, 31/12/1883.

⁴ GCA Napiershall School Log-book, 5/3/1889.

This would be an oversimplification. In 1867 the inspector for SSPCK schools censured the teacher at Keiss school in Caithness:

This school was found vacant today, Miss Robertson having gone from home during the Free Church communion holidays.⁵

One might suppose that that was a much more substantial excuse for absence than that given by the first two quotations. Even after 1872, there was a fair amount of latitude. A.S. Neill described one part of his school day thus:

Jim Burnett came out to my desk and lifted The Glasgow Herald, then he went out to the playground humming On the Mississippi.

'What's the idea?' asked Simpson.

'He's the only boy who is keen on the war news,' I explained.

Then Margaret Steel came out.

'Please, sir, I took The Four Feathers home and my mother began to read them; she thinks she'll finish them by Sunday. Is anybody reading The Invisible Man?' I gave her the book and she went out.

Then Tom Macintosh came out and asked for the Manual⁶ Room key; he wanted to finish a boat he was making.

A.S. Neill was, of course, an exceptional elementary school teacher. All the same, the quotation does illustrate the amount of freedom with regard to school organisation a teacher could have, if he wanted it enough.

What we shall try to determine in this chapter is whether State administration of education restricted the freedom of the teacher to organise his school and his classroom in his own way. It would be easy to suppose that it did and to go on to assume, therefore, that there was a poor relationship between teachers and inspectors on the one hand and teachers and school boards on the other. Yet much of the evidence points to a different conclusion. The effect of the 1872 Act on social mobility from the classroom will also be evaluated. Finally, there will be a brief

⁵ SRO GD 95/9/9, Report of SSPCK 1867-8, Vol. 1, p. 23.

⁶ A.S. Neill: A Dominie's Log (1915), p. 142.

resume of pupils' views of board school life. These subjects will be dealt with under four headings. Section One will deal with the interaction among school boards, teachers and the inspectorate in relation to the teacher's freedom of action and general status. Section Two deals with the accommodation provided and the effect of this on such matters as discipline and homework. Pupils - their opportunities for advancement and their reactions to school - will be examined in Sections Three and Four respectively.

Section 1. Teachers, Inspectors of Schools and School Boards

The usual interpretation of teacher/inspector relationships suggests that the HMI figured as an ogre in the mind of the teacher. The inspector was the representative of central authority, empowered to sit in judgement on the teacher in his capacities as instructor, time-table organiser, disciplinarian, and imparter of culture. Upon the good report of the inspector on these matters, depended a large part of most teachers' salaries - the government grant. Though, in the long run, the school board decided on the percentage of government grant set aside for the teacher, the gross amount was determined by the inspector. In the eyes of the teacher, the HMI was a very powerful figure. Keeping in mind the financial power of the HMI, how did the teacher regard the inspector - and vice versa?

Bone mentions⁷ an English case where a female teacher committed suicide in fear of a poor result at inspection. On the whole, Scottish teachers seemed to have been more robust in their attitudes to inspection. In part, this was because a number, especially the "old parochials", were graduates and felt on an easy intellectual footing with the inspector. In general, the inspectors were reasonable in their criticisms and tried to avoid undue harshness. Kerr said:

⁷ T.R. Bone: School Inspection in Scotland: 1840-1966 (1963) p. 94. A Birkenhead schoolmistress.

he had endeavoured to make teachers feel that he trusted them, and that they together had a common task.⁸

Nevertheless, there were exceptions. The extreme unpopularity of Hall and Dey have been dealt with in Chapter 3. Scottish teachers, or some of them, reacted with spirit and leapt into print in local newspapers and professional journals - albeit often anonymously. One teacher wrote of Dey in the Educational News, 19/9/1882:

Of late years he has displayed weakness of temper, and a great lack of patience ... Mr. Dey gives the pupils⁹ no time to think. The work must be done at a gallop.

The youth and teaching inexperience of some inspectors were catigated. In general, inspectors were fair-minded men and there were remarkably few criticisms of them from the teacher's side. Very occasionally, a teacher complained to his school board that a harsh inspection was the reason for the paucity of the government grant. However, only two cases were found in the minute books examined. In the first case, the teacher of Glenbuck school under Muirkirk school board explained that his school had done poorly because the Inspector had frightened the Infants¹⁰ - no grant at all had been earned. Hawick Burgh school board was apparently told by one of its teachers that the reason why the highest grant for history and geography was not earned was that HMI, Mr. King, had expected the children to have committed facts to memory. King wrote to the Board to explain that that omission had not concerned him; he objected to the poor way these subjects had been taught.¹¹ In each case, there was a long history of poor relations between board and teachers; we may assume, therefore, that the teachers concerned were seeking to excuse themselves to the board, rather than accuse the inspector. From school board records examined, it appears that criticism, where it affected

⁸ Ibid, p. 93. Quoted from The Educational News, 18/1/1879.

⁹ Bone: op cit, p. 104.

¹⁰ ACC Muirkirk SB Minutes 15/10/1883.

¹¹ RCC Hawick Burgh SB Minutes 28/6/1896.

the teaching, was couched in mild terms. For example, the 1882 Report for St. Quivox school included the following comment: 'The class subjects are not so completely known; except for Geography which is creditable'.¹²

In St. Boswells minutes, we find the following mild criticism:

In the Fifth and Sixth standards, Reading is very fair, and the work otherwise in the elementary subjects is not more than fair. The grant for the higher divisions has accordingly been reduced ...¹³

Finally, the 1875 Report for Campbellfield half-time school in Glasgow was couched in glowing terms:

This large elementary school is in a most satisfactory condition. Perhaps the general intelligence is not quite up to the other work, but this is entirely accounted for by the very inferior class of children.¹⁴

Compare this with what inspectors occasionally said about school board responsibilities. For example, at Creich, the HMI described school attendance as 'simply deplorable',¹⁵ The offices at Saughtree school under Castleton school board were described as filthy by the HMI.¹⁶

Nevertheless, although it appears that there was generally mutual respect between inspectors and inspected, the very existence of inspection could impose an unwelcome strain upon the teacher. In Castleton in Roxburghshire, two children were punished for their absence in 1896 - this might affect both the attendance and performance grant of the school.¹⁷

Walker wrote disapprovingly in 1889:

I hear now and then of scholars being brought back in the evening, or kept for an hour or two after the regular hour for dismissal.¹⁸

¹² ACC St. Quivox SB Minutes 14/3/1882.

¹³ RCC St. Boswells SB Minutes, 17/5/1893.

¹⁴ Glasgow SB Log-books. D.ED. 7. 35A. 1. 1. Campbellfield, 25/5/1875.

¹⁵ SCC Creich SB Minutes, 15/8/1884. ¹⁶ RCC Castleton SB Minutes, 5/8/1884.

¹⁷ RCC Castleton SB Minutes, 1/4/1896. They had the good excuse that the weather was wet and very stormy.

¹⁸ ED 1000 ... Walker ...

Children who had not made the requisite number of attendances for inspection were sometimes ignored completely:

I pointed out to a girl on one occasion that she was sitting in a cramped attitude injurious to health. The teacher immediately rushed up and informed me that this girl had not made the attendances. I replied, 'Is that any reason why the girl should make a corkscrew of herself?'¹⁹

For very many teachers, inspection was an ordeal - they were at the mercy of their pupils, who sometimes took advantage of them. A Hawick school board member described what could happen in this extract of her letter to the Hawick News. Pupils could

imbibe the notion of holding a rod over their instructors, as it cannot be denied some have been known to do.²⁰

It was no wonder that John Kerr found one efficient and respected teacher who was always glad to see the last of the inspector:

In spite of many years of successful experience and hearty commendation, the inspection day was still a burden which he was glad to shake from his shoulders.²¹

Another teacher, Archibald Galbraith of Kelvinhaugh school, wrote somewhat ruefully after his first inspection by HMI, Mr. Gordon:

Can't say that I am altogether satisfied with appearance made by my boys. This possibly arises from my own inexperience of such exams and consequent ignorance of their requirements.²²

Neill also made his feelings clear about inspection:

¹⁹ PP 1890, xxxi, Robertson, p. 291.

²⁰ RCC Hawick Burgh SB Minutes. Supplement to Hawick News, 11/5/1889. Mrs. Craig's letter.

²¹ Kerr: Memories, p. 39.

²² Glasgow SB Minutes, Kelvinhaugh Sessional School Log-Book, 26/1/1866.

Indeed, if the hum of conversation stops, I feel that something has happened and I invariably look towards the door to see whether an Inspector has arrived.²³

By the 1880's, it seems that most teachers were willing to tolerate inspection, at the very least. As the decade wore on, there was less emphasis on individual examination and therefore fewer causes of friction between teachers and the inspectorate. There were other reasons for the improved relationship. Dr. Smith wrote in 1883:

One cause of educational progress recently made is of radical importance, and has been frequently overlooked, that is, the gradual and largely unconscious adaptation of the teachers in a district to the style of examination of their own Inspector.²⁴

Studies of School board minutes, HMI printed Reports and other material suggest that the inspectors were hardly the ogres they were once believed to be. Dr. Kerr did his best to put both children and teacher at ease before an inspection.²⁵ His estimate of teachers was a tribute to the generally good relations between teachers and inspectors:

The impression left on my mind after long and intimate intercourse with teachers in respect of fidelity, earnestness of purpose, and honesty in the midst of many temptations to deception, is a distinctly favourable one.²⁶

Even A.S. Neill, never obsequious to authority, had to admit the humanity of the inspectors. 'Some of them,' he wrote, 'are men with what I would call a vision.'²⁷

From a reading of school board minutes, it seems that Neill's judgement was unlikely to be shared by the local boards. To them, the inspector was an emissary from the centre, constantly criticising their

²³ Neill, op cit, p. 15.

²⁴ PP 1883, XXVI, Smith, p. 169.

²⁵ Kerr: Memories, p. 37.

²⁶ Kerr: Ibid, p. 325.

²⁷ Neill: op cit, p. 17.

local arrangements and demanding buildings and equipment which would be a charge upon the rates. There were, of course, exceptions. Glasgow school board from the first set out to remodel the city's educational provision, with great success in the eyes of the inspectorate, which praised the city for its efforts in the printed Reports.²⁸ Old Cumnock school board also provided good buildings, but only after a hesitant beginning, described more fully in Chapter 3. Creich school board, in the face of great difficulties, made a serious attempt to enforce attendance. These three boards seem to have been genuinely enthusiastic about their schools. The same could not be said for the twenty-two other boards whose records were examined in detail. There was, almost always, compliance with central standards but this was a reluctant duty rather than a pleasure. Shortcomings in relation to staffing, accommodation and enforcement of attendance meant that the government grant suffered and hence the salaries of teachers employed by the boards.

Unlike their muted criticisms of teachers, inspectors had no hesitation in making their displeasure clear to school boards. Three Sutherland boards came under criticism. The case of Creich has been mentioned above and the board did make genuine attempts to secure better attendance. Clyne school board, torn asunder by sectarian rivalry, made no such effort and its record of attendance was described by HMI Mr. Sime as 'the foulest blot'.²⁹ Loth, the neighbouring board to Clyne, was considerably less than enthusiastic about spending ratepayers' money on school building and recognised as efficient an adventure school in what can only be described as a state of dilapidation. Sime again recorded his opinion. The recognition of Port Gower school was 'a curious puzzle'.³⁰

²⁸ PP 1884-85, XXVI, Kerr, p. 182; PP 1888, XLI, Kerr, p. 234; PP 1890, XXXI, Ogilvie, p. 246.

²⁹ PP 1882, XXV, Sime, p. 182. ³⁰ Ibid, Sime, p. 179.

HMI, Mr. Smith verged on the defamatory when he wrote of one board in the Airdrie area:

In one parish report has it that each of the members of the board managed to get a school erected on his own land for the sake of a good feu rent.³¹

If a board proved incorrigible, the inspectorate had a potent weapon to hand - grant reduction. Lilliesleaf and Hobkirk school boards lost part of the government grant because they did not comply with the inspector's recommendations in regard to toilets³² - such niceties as separate entrances for boys and girls were ignored. Lack of staff caused grant reductions for Ancrum, Kelso and Lilliesleaf school boards.³³ It so happens that the examples given above all deal with schools in Roxburgh. Certainly the boards there seem to have been very lax about complying with building regulations - Kelso school board lost all or part of the grant three years running for faults in accommodation.³⁴ It may have been that boards in this area were overly complacent about their old parochial schools and saw no need to improve on them. The sole Ayrshire instance, Symington,³⁵ was a small rural parish like those in Roxburgh. Surprisingly, despite their difficulties, the six Highland parishes studied did not lose grant for accommodation difficulties. The worst, Loth, managed to avoid any grant

³¹ PP 1880, XXIV, Smith, p. 159.

³² RCC Hobkirk SB Minutes, 25/5/1878; Lilliesleaf SB Minutes, 3/2/1883.

³³ RCC Ancrum SB Minutes, 28/5/1877; Kelso SB Minutes 2/8/1876; Lilliesleaf SB Minutes, 3/2/1883.

³⁴ RCC Kelso SB Minutes, 27/2/1877; 26/1/1878; 18/4/1879 - North Church School taken over in 1873. Not improved. Closed in 1879 with opening of new Public School.

³⁵ ACC Symington SB Minutes, 5/8/1875.

loss by promises of compliance and plausible excuses for non-fulfilment. However, boards in each area (except Glasgow) lost part of the government grant for deficiencies in equipment or books. Bedrule and Kiltarlity lost part of the grant for the latter reason,³⁶ while poor equipment cost Castleton and Muirkirk school boards a money loss.³⁷ Finally, even Creich school board lost money after an inspection. It failed to earn the extra Highland Grant because of poor attendance.³⁸ Effort had been made to improve this but too few parents and children responded.

From this evidence, it would seem that the inspectorate was far more of a scourge to the school board than to the teacher. The latter may have suffered more from anxiety but the school board was hurt in its most tender place - the pockets of the ratepayers. On the whole, it seems that the inspectors were much more likely to give general support to the teachers than to the school boards. The reduction of many teachers' salaries in the 1880's was deplored by the inspectors.³⁹ Enormous classrooms which inhibited intelligent teaching were also criticised by the inspectorate.

Unfortunately, even where we have three teachers, as in Muirkirk Ironworks School, we have not three proper rooms. What is the use of a hall 58 ft. by 24 ft., if five classes have to be taught in it simultaneously?⁴⁰

Lastly, it seems that occasionally criticisms from the inspectors resulted in improvements in working conditions for teachers - e.g. retiring rooms.⁴¹

³⁶ RCC Bedrule SB Minutes 15/5/1895; ICC Kiltarlity SB Minutes 5/5/1875. The teacher at Guisachan actually resigned over this issue.

³⁷ ACC Castleton SB Minutes 15/4/1875; ACC Muirkirk SB Minutes, 15/10/1883.

³⁸ SCC Creich SB Minutes, 16/10/1888.

³⁹ PP 1880, XXIV, Smith, p. 161; PP 1881, XXXIV, Macleod, p. 142; PP 1883, XXVI, Stewart, p. 179.

⁴⁰ PP 1882, XXV, Marshall, p. 128.

⁴¹ PP 1888, XLI, Waddell, p. 253.

In 1889, the Building Committee of Hawick Burgh school board recommended:

the teachers' rooms at Drumlanrig be furnished
each with a table and three chairs and a fender
and fire-irons.⁴²

If the inspector appeared in nineteenth century nightmares, he was far more likely to do so in the heads of board members, rather than those of teachers. It was little wonder that Neill spoke so approvingly, for him, of those inspectors in authority over him.

His view of school boards - one shared, we may expect, by many of his fellow teachers - was far less complimentary. He wrote: 'a School Board is generally composed of men who have but the haziest notion of the meaning of education.'⁴³ Neill also believed that 'the School Board bullies the dominie'.⁴⁴ The phrase seems strong but less so when compared to the entries in school board minute books. There were any number of points of friction. The chief one was salary. 'Results' were also a cause of conflict, as were moral lapses.

The best bargain for a teacher in the '70's was to receive a fixed salary from the school board. This made him independent of fees, 'results' and government grants and removed the chief causes of friction with the board. Very few teachers were in this fortunate position. Mair of Dreghorn school was one of the lucky ones; in return for a fixed salary of £250 (above the Scottish average), he gave up both the fees and the government grant.⁴⁵ The only other board examined which offered these terms was Old Cumnock⁴⁶ - again school/board/teacher relations were good. Most other teachers were allowed to keep their fees. The difficulty was that they were responsible

⁴² RCC Hawick Burgh SB Minutes, 24/9/1889. ⁴³ Neill, op cit, p. 124.

⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 145.

⁴⁵ ACC Dreghorn SB Minutes, 23/4/1874.

⁴⁶ ACC Old Cumnock SB Minutes 15/10/1874.

for collecting them too. It was noteworthy that Dreghorn was one of the few school boards which took legal action to make up arrears of fees.⁴⁷ In Roxburghshire, Castleton also laid claim to the school fees,⁴⁸ and also prosecuted for fee arrears.⁴⁹ Muirkirk school board did neither and told its teacher that he would have to prosecute at his own expense for fee arrears.⁵⁰ Occasionally, a school board summoned defaulters on fees to appear before it, as occurred at Auchinleck⁵¹ but this was an isolated case and most boards - like Muirkirk, which allowed the fees to go to its teachers, did not concern themselves about them. This lack of effective machinery for extracting fees from the parents, obviously damaged the financial position of teachers. Sometimes, the issue of fees could be a source of open conflict between teacher and board. In Bedrule, the level of fees had been calculated at £45 per annum⁵² and when this was not achieved, the teacher asked the board to pay him the short-fall of £27 7s 10¹/₂d.⁵³ At first, the board refused, even going for legal advice, but eventually it paid up and a compromise was reached.⁵⁴ Even worse was the Loth case, where there was some ambiguity as to whether the teacher or the board had the right to keep the fees paid. In 1877, the teacher, Mr. McEwan, was told that he would not be paid his salary until he gave the fees over to the board.⁵⁵ Eventually, he gave in, but there was later disagreement over this matter.⁵⁶

Actual cuts in salary were not unknown. While it was clearly considered unwise to cut the salary of a serving teacher - he might damage the grant-earning capacity of his school out of pique - a change of teacher

⁴⁷ Ibid, 13/9/1875.

⁴⁸ RCC Castleton SB Minutes, 22/7/1873.

⁴⁹ Ibid, 27/1/1875.

⁵⁰ ACC Muirkirk SB Minutes, 20/6/1881.

⁵¹ ACC Auchinleck SB Minutes, 12/4/1888.

⁵² RCC Bedrule SB Minutes, 5/11/1873.

⁵³ Ibid, 13/5/1876.

⁵⁴ Ibid, 31/5/1877.

⁵⁵ SCC Loth SB Minutes, 3/11/1877.

⁵⁶ Ibid, 9/11, 1878.

afforded an excellent opportunity. Dalmellington school board employed a new female assistant teacher in July, 1883:

it was resolved that it her salary be reduced £5 per annum, viz. to £20 per annum with 1/5 of the grants and fees exclusive of pupil teachers' grants.⁵⁷

Not surprisingly, the post fell vacant again in 1886, when the board decided that the new salary:

be reduced £10 per annum, viz. to £10 per annum with 1/5 of the grant and fees exclusive of the pupil teachers' grants.⁵⁸

The same entry in the Minute Book reduced the salary of the serving male teacher by £20 but, by the following April, the salary was back to its old level of £70 per annum.⁵⁹ Similar fluctuations in the salary offered to a teacher occurred in Muirkirk. In June, 1879, the board carried a resolution, by four votes to three, that Mr. Donald's salary be reduced to the pre-1872 level of £60.⁶⁰ Donald countered with the 1873 agreement which gave him £75, the fees and a fixed portion of the government grant.⁶¹ In December, 1879, Donald sued the school board because it had adhered to the June position⁶² and the board gave in in the following year.⁶³ Donald could argue from a strong position - he had an agreement in writing and, even more important, as an 'old parochial' he had security of tenure. The board agreed to sack Donald at its next meeting,⁶⁴ but found this was impossible; Donald remained at Muirkirk till at least 1897, despite later disagreement with the board. Donald's long school tenure was a tribute to his tenacity, rather than to the good educational sense of his school board. There must have been a number of teachers of Neill's stamp in the board schools of the period - men who were undismayed by petty tyranny and a short-sighted desire to keep the rates low.

⁵⁷ ACC Dalmellington SB Minutes, 26/7/1883.

⁵⁸ Ibid, 1/7/1886.

⁵⁹ Ibid, 7/4/1887.

⁶⁰ ACC Muirkirk SB Minutes, 9/6/1879.

⁶¹ Ibid, 18/8/1879.

⁶² Ibid 8/12/1879.

⁶³ Ibid, 18/2/1880.

⁶⁴ Ibid, 17/5/1880.

The Clyne and Kelso cases have already been mentioned. Clearly a teacher, possessed of security of tenure and a measure of tenacity, could force a school board to take account of his views. Teachers without this security of tenure were less fortunate. Kirkoswald school board in Ayrshire was so eager to save money that it refused to pay over to the assistant teachers that part of the grant which they had earned and which the school board had promised them. It was only the threat of SED displeasure that compelled them to keep their part of the agreement with the assistants.⁶⁵

It seems from school board minutes that the depression of the late 1870's and early 1880's had serious consequences for the salaries of teachers employed by the boards. It also appears that what early local enthusiasm for education there had been, had evaporated after six years of the operation of the Act. Local communities had had to face up to the fact that their educational provision was poor, that it had to be improved and that this cost money from the rates. Disenchantment set in with the 1879 school board elections. Roxburgh points out that the ratepayers and their allies on the Glasgow school board formed a majority in 1879,⁶⁶ and that this resulted in salary cuts for some, though not all, Glasgow teachers.⁶⁷ Muirkirk saw precisely the same phenomenon. Three new ratepayer candidates - Blyth, a flesher; Wilson, a spirit merchant; and Allison, a farmer - joined Howatson, a wealthy landowner, in his opposition to the spending of local rates unnecessarily. Indeed, part of the motion concerning Donald suggested the reduction in his salary because this came directly from the rates.⁶⁸ Of the three members who supported Donald, two - Millar, a factor; and Hamilton, a farmer - were 1876 board members. The new member, Stewart, was an accountant by occupation but seemed to have a genuine interest in the

⁶⁵ ACC Kirkoswald SB Minutes, 12/3/1891. ⁶⁶ Roxburgh, op cit, p. 41.

⁶⁷ GCA Glasgow SB Minutes, 8/12/1879, Salaries of male assistant teachers raised by £5 per annum.

⁶⁸ ACC Muirkirk SB Minutes, 9/6/1879.

continuing growth of the Muirkirk educational effort - he opposed the majority on the board on a number of occasions.⁶⁹ The Muirkirk situation is not quite parallel to Glasgow - in the latter case, the Free and Established churchmen were the party of educational expansion. In Muirkirk, the Free and Established Church ministers were unsuccessful in the 1879 poll. Nevertheless, it suggests that those who had been on a school board prior to 1879, were interested in educational expansion and were willing to use local money for this purpose. The new men of 1879, combined with existing exponents of parsimony, were, for a short time, able to defeat the former party. No wonder the inspectorate was unimpressed! The teachers did what they could in the face of school board parsimony but were handicapped by their insecure tenure - a teacher who demanded a higher salary might find himself unemployed. Where teachers did have good relations with their boards, it was largely due to their own efforts.⁷⁰ One female teacher at Kirkoswald threatened to leave, with consequent pecuniary loss to the board (the school would be understaffed), if she did not get a salary increase of £5 per annum.⁷¹ Her request was granted. The teachers of the three schools under Castleton school board banded together to ask for a salary increase and a fixed salary in May, 1894.⁷² In June, the salaries were raised and fixed.⁷³ A similar strategy was followed by the head teachers of a number of Glasgow schools when, in 1879, it was proposed that their salaries be gradually reduced by 25%.⁷⁴ They were not successful, partly because the policy of the Glasgow board at this time was to ensure that:

⁶⁹ Ibid, 13/10/1880; 8/11/1880; 1/4/1881; 20/6/1881; 9/9/1881.
Not surprisingly, he did not stand at the next election in 1882.

⁷⁰ PP 1882, XXV, Dey, p. 120. ⁷¹ ACC Kirkoswald SB Minutes, 24/8/1895.

⁷² RCC Castleton SB Minutes, 5/5/1894.

⁷³ Ibid, 6/6/1894.

⁷⁴ GCA Glasgow SB Minutes, 15/9/1879.

the aggregate fees and grants should meet the current expenses, including the salaries of the teaching staff.⁷⁵

A deputation of assistant teachers from schools administered by Hawick Burgh school board was more successful. They applied for an increase in January, 1893 and got one in September at the beginning of the school year.⁷⁶ The Kirkoswald, Castleton and Hawick examples of salary increases are not illustrations of good teacher/school board relationships but rather of a good bargaining position achieved by the teachers. Collective action, or even veiled blackmail, could succeed where an appeal to generosity could not. The chronology of successful action seems significant - only those claims made in the '90's were fruitful. Possibly the greater emphasis put on attendance after 1890 and the brighter economic situation made school boards less unrelenting. Because of a break in the school board and committee minutes of Glasgow in the mid and later 1890's, it is impossible to produce figures for that city. However, a motion in 1889 by Miss Paterson, which would have increased the minimum salaries of mistresses to £100, was not defeated though a decision was postponed on it.⁷⁷ This suggests that the board was no longer so opposed to salary increases, even if they had to be met from the rates. It seems likely, though this will be discussed further in Chapter 6, that most boards earned a higher government grant in the 1890's because of the increased amount paid per child in average attendance. The increased amount paid on class rather than on individual examination also meant that generally grants earned on school work were higher. Again, this needs detailed explanation, more suited to Chapter 6. The end result was that the government grant increased and this meant a lesser burden on the rates and, therefore, school boards which were more sympathetic to teachers' claims for higher salaries. Nevertheless, the old methods of assessing

75

Ibid, 9/6/1879.

76

RCC Hawick Burgh SB Minutes, 24/1/1893; 26/9/1893.

77

GCA Glasgow SB Committee Minutes, 12/5/1887.

teachers' salaries died hard.

Hawick Burgh school board evolved an elaborate system of bonus payments related to the percentage pass gained. A 95% pass in Standards III and IV earned a teacher the mark of 'excellent'. A mere 92% pass earned the same commendation for Standards V and VI. All this brought an extra £5 or £10 a year to the teacher.⁷⁸ It was ironic that local school boards' payment by results for teachers should have remained, just when the Department was on the verge of abolishing it for pupils. Perhaps it was at this point that relations between HMI's of Schools, teachers and school boards were worst. Not unsurprisingly, payment by results to teachers often brought conflicts. It was the usual method of salary assessment for most boards. Kelso school board paid its teachers according to results and, in 1882, a male assistant teacher who did particularly well, got a salary increase of £5.⁷⁹ Similarly, Hawick Burgh school board gave an increase in salary because of good inspector's Report.⁸⁰ Such amity was not general. Both at Ancrum and at Castleton, teachers were asked to resign because of a poor inspector's Report.⁸¹ Even Glasgow threatened an inefficient teacher with dismissal.⁸² It was a departure from the norm and something worth noting as exceptional when Lilliesleaf school board decided in 1900 that their teachers were no longer to be paid by results.⁸³ Most teachers heaved sighs of relief when their boards made similar decisions.

⁷⁸ Ibid, 8/4/1889.

⁷⁹ RCC Kelso SB Minutes, 6/12/1882.

⁸⁰ RCC Hawick Burgh SB Minutes, 11/1/1889.

⁸¹ RCC Ancrum SB Minutes, 1/5/1888; Castleton SB Minutes, 6/6/1887.

⁸² GCA Glasgow SB Committee Minutes, 30/8/1888.

⁸³ RCC Lilliesleaf SB Minutes, 14/7/1900.

On the other hand, a poor pass percentage for a teacher usually meant only a salary reduction for one year (though a few boards might dismiss teachers for poor results.) Apparent faults in the 'morality' of teachers might be expected to have more serious consequences. Oddly enough, moral lapses of one type appear to have been judged fairly leniently, both before and after 1872. In 1847, a Kirkcudbrightshire teacher confessed that he was guilty of 'ante-nuptial fornication' and the Presbytery drew up a libel against him. Thirty farmers and others in the district drew up a petition in the teacher's favour and he kept his post.⁸⁴ A justified complaint that one of the teachers at Wilton school in Hawick in 1895 was the father of an illegitimate child brought no adverse action from the board.⁸⁵ Perhaps the boards in these cases felt that they themselves were not entirely without sin - there was at least one complaint about a member of a school board being guilty of a similar offence.⁸⁶

Drunkenness was much more severely judged. In August, 1897, at Hawick, two male teachers who were accused of being drunk in the holidays (my emphasis), were permanently reduced in status, had their salaries reduced by £10 and had to promise never again to enter a public house.⁸⁷ In December, one of the censured teachers was found 'the worse for drink at the evening school' and was asked to resign.⁸⁸ A male assistant teacher at Newcastleton school under Castleton school board was unfit to teach for two days through drink. He, however, was

⁸⁴ Russell, op cit, p. 65.

⁸⁵ RCC Hawick Burgh SB Minutes, 15/8/1895.

⁸⁶ SRO LAP Box 20, Bundle 2, Rev. R. Young to Lord Advocate: Teviothead in Roxburghshire.

⁸⁷ RCC Hawick Burgh SB Minutes, 24/8/1897.

⁸⁸ Ibid, 6/12/1897.

given another chance.⁸⁹

Also apparently judged under the heading of a moral lapse, was bankruptcy. The head teacher of Dobbie's Loan school in Glasgow was in this unfortunate position. He was transferred to a second class school, with a consequent salary loss of about £50.⁹⁰ It was no wonder that teachers feared the power of school boards and Neill wrote 'the School Board bullies the dominie'.⁹¹ It was a measure of contemporary morality that, judging from school board minutes, drunkenness and bankruptcy were judged more harshly than sexual lapses. It is also possible that time was a factor here. In the case of drunkenness, the school board was informed at once and could take immediate retributive action. Sexual misdemeanours took longer to show themselves; in the interval, the teacher concerned was probably fulfilling his educational duties quite adequately, which doubtless was a point in his favour when his faults were discovered. The sexual double standard probably also operated in such cases.

We may conclude that, while on the face of it relations between teachers and inspectors were poor, they were even worse between the inspectorate and the boards. The worst excesses or laxities of the latter were held in check by the power of the inspectorate over the financial aid offered to the localities by the centre. No such consideration hindered the boards in their attitudes to the teachers they employed. As Section 60 of the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act so aptly put it, teachers were employed at the pleasure of the boards. Only those with the 'old parochial' security of tenure or firm, written, legal

⁸⁹ RCC Castleton SB Minutes, 29/11/1899.

⁹⁰ GCA Glasgow SB Minutes, 9/3/1885.

⁹¹ Neill, op cit, p. 145.

agreements could hope successfully to disagree with their school boards over salary reductions. The surprising thing about education in the thirty years after 1872, was that it improved at all. With a few notable exceptions, credit for this must go, not to the local school boards, but to the inspectorate. The latter group prodded reluctant boards into carrying out necessary improvements in accommodation or staffing and mediated between the boards and their teachers. Officially, the inspector was the bane of the ordinary teacher's life, with his judgements on the end product of the teacher's efforts. In general, however, the inspector kept his comments and criticisms as helpful as possible to the teacher; he recognised the latter's difficulties. The inspector kept his thunderbolts for recalcitrant school boards.

Section 2. The Scottish Schoolroom after 1872.

There is reason to believe that many of the teacher's problems in the classroom stemmed from the organisation of the schoolroom. Girvan Burgh school had three or four pupil teachers, 225 pupils and one enormous schoolroom 72 ft. by 25 ft.⁹² The problem was not confined to Ayrshire. In 1882, the inspector wrote that, though the standard of teaching in Kelso was satisfactory, the gallery (for Infants) was much too large, the small classroom was too small and the large classroom should be divided to provide a second gallery.⁹³ Nothing was done and, in the following year, the Infant class lost part of the organisation and discipline grant.⁹⁴ The uproar must have been tremendous as four or five classes chanted out loud their 'spelling' or their 'tables'. This brought problems of discipline

⁹² PP 1882, XXV, Marshall, p. 129.

⁹³ RCC Kelso SB Minutes, 1/2/1882.

⁹⁴ Ibid, 7/2/1883.

and encouraged free use of the tawse. Even schools like Dennistoun in Glasgow which were adequately staffed (in 1898 there were sixteen teachers, one ex-pupil teacher and eight pupil teachers)⁹⁵ were still plagued by corporal punishment for venial offences. In 1893, a girl was punished by Mr. Wilson, one of the teachers. On complaint from her father, the matter was investigated by the head teacher who:

found it was for having too few sums done. I instructed him in future to punish Standard VI girls only for moral offences.⁹⁶

If that sort of thing happened in a school of high educational standards like Dennistoun, we may reasonably conclude that even less just punishment was meted out in less well-organised schools. The examples given below show just that. In an attempt to keep classroom noise to a minimum, teachers sought out quiet methods of teaching. Inspectors frequently complained about the incidence of 'fingering' - i.e. calculating arithmetic problems on the fingers⁹⁷ but that was a quiet way of counting, much preferable to the chanting aloud of 'tables'. No wonder the practice was so prevalent in the overcrowded classrooms of the period. Homework was given out freely, though it was doubtful if children would learn any better at home - in 1874, 69.54% lived in houses of one or two rooms

⁹⁵ GCA, D. ED. 7.58.1.1, Dennistoun school log book, 23/2/1898.

⁹⁶ Ibid, 6/10/1893.

⁹⁷ PP 1888, XLI, Scougal, p. 196; Ibid, Calder, p. 283; Ibid, White p. 284; Ibid, Muir, p. 288; Ibid, Macleod, p. 289. The last mentioned thought it stemmed from early use of the ball-frame, a much simplified abacus. Struthers, an ex-pupil teacher, now inspector, was in favour of fingering which he thought quick and practical - Ibid, p. 292.

(including $\frac{1}{2}$ in one room houses).⁹⁸ The rigours of individual examination encouraged dull revision periods and punishment for those whose faults were intellectual rather than moral.

Poor accommodation seems to have exacerbated the problems faced by teachers. The HMI report on St. Quivox school in Ayrshire in 1882 was critical of the quality of teaching given to the Infants:

their instruction - particularly in reading and number - in the midst of all the other classes is attended with difficulties.⁹⁹

And the standards of accommodation for Infant teaching were not really very high. HMI Mr. Walker favoured the 'gallery system in the placing of parallel benches, both with and without desks, on an ascending platform'.¹⁰⁰

The result of this was that the HMI was all too often faced with 'a surging sea of little urchins spread over a gallery extending up to the ceiling of the room'.¹⁰¹ The difficulties of teaching under these conditions were considerable and were not improved by unintelligent division of teaching rooms among the teachers. In 1878, there were three teachers at Newcastleton school and only two rooms. The head teacher took the larger room, leaving the assistants the smaller. The HMI recommended instead that the head teacher take the small room.¹⁰² Auchinleck school board in Ayrshire

⁹⁸ PP 1874, XX, Committee of Council, p. viii.

⁹⁹ ACC St. Quivox SB Minutes, 14/3/1882.

¹⁰⁰ PP 1881, XXXIV, Walker, p. 154.

¹⁰¹ PP 1878-9, XXV, Dey, p. 153.

¹⁰² RCC Castleton SB Minutes, 21/1/1878.

found that the lack of organisation in the classroom meant that "much loud speaking is required on account of the number of lessons requiring to be taught in one room".¹⁰³ The same problem occurred in Whitletts school under St. Quivox school board. This was a one room school, 43'10" by 19'8", accommodating 107 pupils in 1873.¹⁰⁴ In 1881, a male head teacher, a female assistant teacher, a sewing mistress and a pupil teacher all taught in this one room.¹⁰⁵ Under such conditions, discipline was over-harsh. In Whitletts school in 1877, a seven year old child was hit in the face and lost a tooth for talking. A girl was hit on the head for the same offence.¹⁰⁶ Hall found:

A conspicuous cane or strap and a judiciously posted body of pupil teachers who, the scholars know, have a carte blanche as to unostentatious rib-punching, are potential means of obtaining an abnormal quiet and order in the presence of the inspector.¹⁰⁷

At this time, Hall was responsible for Ayrshire. We may conclude that he based his comment on observation. Other inspectors believed that, "he is the best disciplinarian who punishes least", and spoke critically of schools where "fifty, sixty and seventy 'pandies' were daily administered by the headmasters of by no means large schools".¹⁰⁸

School boards attempted to regulate the punishment meted out by their teachers. It seems that the boards were not against punishment as such, but were opposed to corporal punishment which resulted in severe injury. This acceptance of punishment was partly due to a lingering belief that it benefited children and partly because teachers convinced them that it was

¹⁰³ ACC Auchinleck SB Minutes, 9/9/1880.

¹⁰⁴ ACC St. Quivox SB Minutes, 12/7/1873.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, 26/2/1881.

¹⁰⁷ PP 1875, XXVI, Hall, p. 51.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, 7/8/1877.

¹⁰⁸ PP 1888, XLI, Harvey, p. 254.

necessary for the financial good of the school. Ill-prepared children meant losses on individual examinations; ill-discipline in general meant losses on the organisation and discipline grant. In 1874, Ancrum school board decided to:

caution the teachers in administering punishment, that no blows on the head or the feet should be given with a cane or rod.¹⁰⁹

One wonders why they found it necessary to issue such guidelines in the first place. Hobkirk school board accepted "the necessity of severity in order to bring the pupils up to a proper pitch for the examination".¹¹⁰

A boy had fainted after being punished. Hawick Burgh school board apparently accepted the reason for excessive punishment of a boy in Trinity school - he provoked his teacher by reason of his inattention. The boy was hit on the face and hand with a slate but the teacher was cautioned only for the blow he gave above the boy's eye.¹¹¹ Even legal judgment against a teacher for over-severity could not upset Muirkirk school board -

The Board expressed their sympathy with Miss McCune and in the interest of the discipline of the schools of the district, the Board agreed to uphold the action of the teachers in cases similar to this.¹¹²

In this matter at least, the school board generally supported its teachers. In 1894, the school board of St. Quivox upheld Mr. Marshall, the teacher at Whitletts school, in his decision to expel an unruly boy.¹¹³ Since the boy was still of compulsory age, he went to the other school run by the Board - St. Quivox - to complete his education. There, too, he created difficulties but apparently managed to avoid a second expulsion.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁹ RCC Ancrum SB Minutes, 7/8/1874. ¹¹⁰ RCC Hobkirk SB Minutes, 20/5/1878.

¹¹¹ RCC Hawick Burgh SB Committee Minutes, 10/10/1888.

¹¹² ACC Muirkirk SB Minutes, 11/6/1886.

¹¹³ ACC St. Quivox SB Minutes, 25/12/1894.

¹¹⁴ Ibid, 15/1/1895.

Even harsh classroom disciplinarians had some justification. One wonders what the boy had done to merit the ultimate sanction of expulsion. Only occasionally were teachers censured and even then only when punishment was grossly excessive. Teachers at Rockvilla school under Glasgow school board were censured because of:

three occasions when ten strokes were given by Mr. Soutar for truancy, and three instances of six strokes given by Miss Watt for being late.¹¹⁵

In 1885, also in Glasgow, the school board paid compensation to a seven year old girl who lost her eye after a female pupil teacher threw a piece of slate frame at her. Since the pupil teacher was in charge of a class of fifty - above the limit of forty, the board was legally in the wrong.¹¹⁶ It is interesting to note that the majority of complaints, substantiated or not, came from cities, towns or large villages. In strictly rural areas, there were probably two factors which inhibited complaints. Firstly, the teacher was likely to know the children and their families and hence faced fewer disciplinary problems. Secondly, parents who were employed by school board members may well have been wary of making complaints about the administration of schools in the district. There were, of course, exceptions. Hobkirk school board warned a teacher after complaints that a boy had been hit about the neck and eyes with the tawse. However, the board believed that the teacher had used his hand and not the belt.¹¹⁷ In November of that year a boy who had stayed away from school because he would not submit to school discipline, was peremptorily told to return by the board.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵ GCA Glasgow SB Letter Book D.ED., 1.1.9.7 - letter of 3/10/1895, Rockvilla school.

¹¹⁶ GCA Glasgow SB Minutes, 9/2/1885.

¹¹⁷ RCC Hobkirk SB Minutes, 24/1/1883.

¹¹⁸ Ibid, 19/11/1883.

In general, school boards also supported their teachers in their efforts to reach a satisfactory level of passes. Ancrum school board approved a time-table which left all Friday afternoon free for revision.¹¹⁹ Kelvinhaugh Sessional school log book contained the following entry:

Usual weekly examination - Counting behind, but Dictation vastly improved.¹²⁰

It was not surprising that children were restless in class and when the opportunity arose:

Too often the dismissal of the scholars of a class is a scene of the direst confusion ... as each shouting at the top of his voice rushes to the door.¹²¹

One might think that this was an entirely comprehensible reaction but, apparently, the inspectors did not agree, even in the 1890's and even after years spent observing teaching methods. St. Boswells school board was threatened with the loss of part of the discipline grant if there was no improvement on the inspector's next visit: "There is again some weakness in discipline ... The older pupils behave well in School, but are noisy outside".¹²² Apparently, there was some improvement but even so, in 1899: "The grant for Discipline has been raised after some hesitation".¹²³

Feelings about homework were more mixed. Struthers believed that it was a waste of time and Dunn also doubted its usefulness.¹²⁴ It seems that school boards shared in the general scepticism. Ancrum school board politely asked its teachers to make arithmetic homework easier;¹²⁵

¹¹⁹ RCC Ancrum SB Minutes, 5/9/1873.

¹²⁰ GCA Kelvinhaugh Sessional Log book, 11/9/1867.

¹²¹ PP 1888, XLI, Walker, p. 201.

¹²² RCC St. Boswells SB Minutes, 31/5/1898.

¹²³ Ibid, 17/6/1899.

¹²⁴ PP 1888, XLI, Struthers, p. 292; PP 1889, XXXII, Dunn, p. 219.

¹²⁵ RCC Ancrum SB Minutes, 5/4/1888.

Hobkirk board asked for the minimum of homework to be given out;¹²⁶ while Glasgow went so far as to issue a list of regulations for home lessons.¹²⁷ In some ways, it seems rather unfair that the school boards should have insisted on the highest possible pass rate, provided poor working conditions for teachers in the sense that classrooms were often overcrowded and then forbidden them to make up lost ground by handing out homework to the extent teachers wished. The sort of difficulties faced by teachers can be seen in Hobkirk in 1884, when the teacher was warned about teaching the girls grammar in the sewing hour - this was despite a warning from the HMI that grammar was weak.¹²⁸

Throughout the school board minutes studied in detail, one receives an impression of teachers doing their best in the face of great difficulties of accommodation to provide efficient education. Significantly, though there were occasional charges of inefficiency, no teacher was criticised for laziness. It was the boards which were dilatory in providing suitable accommodation. Not being teachers, they followed the letter of the law on overall accommodation but gave no thought to the difficulties of teaching as many as six Standard classes, plus Infants, in one or two rooms. It was not surprising that occasionally teachers were pushed too far and reacted with vicious punishments. The emphasis laid by the boards on high percentage passes in school work meant that teachers were financially damaged by ill-prepared children and were prepared to use corporal punishment for faults in learning. As a result, a tradition was established of rote learning - 'tables' and 'dates' were recited in Scottish primary schools until comparatively

¹²⁶ RCC Hobkirk SB Minutes, 25/4/1888.

¹²⁷ GCA Glasgow SB Minutes, 18/2/1895.

¹²⁸ RCC Hobkirk SB Minutes, 19/5/1884.

recently. Accommodation deficiencies lay at the foot of very many poor educational practices in the nineteenth century. That there was any progress at all was a tribute to the tenacity of teachers and to vigorous encouragement from the inspectorate to dilatory school boards.

Section 3. Social Mobility and the 1872 Act.

The Act of 1872, according to the Preamble, offered education to the 'whole people' of Scotland. Unlike English education, that offered by the State was not to be confined to the children of the 'labouring classes' in Scotland. Was post-1872 education really as democratic as it appeared? If it was, then how do we account for the growth of middle class schools and academies during the early part of the nineteenth century and their consolidation after 1872 under the Educational Endowments (Scotland) Act of 1882? We cannot say that these schools formed an integral part of the system set up under the 1872 Act, since they were not maintained by the school boards. Some of these schools were under school board control, however, the Higher Class Public Schools, seventeen in 1878, were governed by the local school boards but were not maintained from the school rate because their curricula were not mainly elementary. Various attempts were made to achieve rate support for at least fabric maintenance - e.g. certain sections of the Education (Scotland) Act, 1878 - but these were successfully challenged in court and so never came into operation. As a result, school fees had to cover not only teachers' salaries but also the buildings themselves. As a result, the level charged was such that most working class children were effectively excluded. What then of social mobility in the schools directly under the school boards? Was it non-existent? Did the Act finally put an end to the already tenuous existence of the 'lad o' pairs'? Or was

he offered a new lease of life by 1872? Were there any special inducements to social mobility which would not have existed without the Act? If there were, then who took advantage of them?

One provision of the Act of 1872 insisted that fees should be a maximum of 9d. per week. Kelso school board lost the government grant in 1877 for one of its schools because the fees were above the permitted maximum.¹²⁹ The old Scottish practice of a separate fee for each branch of education also fell into disuse. Partly, this was due to the exigencies of the educational standards set up by the Codes, which required that all Scottish children should be proficient in the 3 R's before they left school. In a few areas, the old charges persisted. Bedrule school board decided that the quarterly fee for reading should be 2s.; for reading and writing, 2s. 6d.; for the 3 R's, 3s.; for the 3 R's plus geography, 3s. 6d.; the 3 R's, geography and grammar would cost 4s.; along with Latin, 6s.; plus Greek, 7s. 6d.; all the above plus French would cost 9s.; while the addition of mathematics resulted in a charge of 10s. 6d.¹³⁰ Symington in Ayrshire charged similarly: reading cost 2s. 6d.; reading and writing, 3s.; the 3 R's, 3s. 6d.; together with geography and grammar, 4s.; with the addition of Latin, the charge was 5s. - again per quarter.¹³¹ These old rates could persist for a long period - in Bedrule, the fees were not made proportional to standard until 1882.¹³² This suggests - as the HMI Reports bear out, that the higher branches were offered to local children but that none took advantage of them because of cost. Bedrule did not earn a government grant for Specific Subjects up to, or apparently even after, 1882. It was a small school with

¹²⁹ RCC Kelso SB Minutes, 4/4/77.

¹³⁰ RCC Bedrule SB Minutes, 6/6/1873.

¹³¹ ACC Symington SB Minutes, 1/5/1873.

¹³² RCC Bedrule SB Minutes, 1/11/1882.

an average attendance of only 39¹³³ but even so, one might have expected at least one 'lad o' pairts' who could take advantage of the new Codes. Normal practice after 1872, was to demand a sliding scale of fees, rising the higher the child advanced in school. So Kiltarlity levied the following fees per quarter on its pupils: Standard I, 1s. 6d.; Standard II, 2s. Od.; Standard III, 2s. Od.; Standards IV and V, 2s. 6d.; Standard VI, 3s. Od.; for each additional subject (Specific Subjects, etc.), 1s. Od.¹³⁴ In this way, everyone paid the same fee for the basic minimum of education. On the face of it, no one had to go without the 3 R's because of parental poverty or indifference. Sometimes reality did not quite match up to this claim, as the previous Chapter showed. In a limited sense, however, the Act did contribute to social mobility, in that each child should have had the foundations of an education. Laxity in school board operation of the compulsory powers in the 1872 Act, could have disastrous effects on a child's chances of literacy. HMI Mr. Walker, who examined schools in Perthshire in 1880, found:

many children almost or quite past school age who are without the very elements of education.¹³⁵

As a result, some children left school - if indeed they even attended - quite bereft of basic literacy. How many who did attend had the opportunity to build upon their basic education is quite another question. In 1882, HMI Dr. Smith, who was in charge of schools in south Lanarkshire, wrote that he believed that the teaching of elementary subjects had improved greatly but that he feared that, particularly for girls, literacy was not a permanent acquisition:

¹³³ Ordnance Gazetteer for 1882, 1879.

¹³⁴ ICC Kiltarlity SB Minutes, 29/9/73.

¹³⁵ PP 1881, XXXIV, Walker, p. 145.

in the most destitute of our mining districts, girls who have passed the 3rd or 4th Standard since the Act of 1872 came into force ... are now almost unable to read.¹³⁶

As late as 1891, Smith again reported:

I am assured by a Catholic priest in my district that he frequently meets with men and women who are unable to sign the register at their marriage though a comparatively short time had passed since they left school.¹³⁷

It seems that in many cases, economics played a part in determining opportunities for social mobility.

Some children, because of regional and local peculiarities, had a lower chance of putting even the first foot on the ladder of social mobility. In rural areas in general, and the crofting areas in particular, seasonal agricultural tasks made inroads into the education, even at its most elementary, of many children. Orcadian children were expected to herd cattle for their families, despite pleas for the tethering of the beasts by HMI Mr. Struthers. Flotta children had to gather whelks for bait.¹³⁸ Some children had even to contend with hostile school boards. In the same report one inspector found an attendance of 7 out of a total of 65 at one of the schools under the Glenlivet board. On expressing his natural surprise, he was told that the school board considered the working class too well educated.¹³⁹ In Dundee, there were still 3000 half-timers as late as 1889.¹⁴⁰ These children suffered greatly educationally and even in their accommodation. In 1882, according to HMI Mr. Muir, some half-timers in Dundee:

¹³⁶ PP 1883, XXVI, Smith, p. 170.

¹³⁷ PP 1892, XXXI, Smith, p. 261.

¹³⁸ PP 1887, XXXII, Struthers, pp. 229/30.

¹³⁹ Ibid, Andrew, pp. 227/8.

¹⁴⁰ PP 1890, XXXI, Stewart, p. 281.

are taught to the accompaniment of the nerve and brain shattering thud of adjacent machinery.¹⁴¹

Similarly, even in Glasgow, accommodation for half-timers came very low in the list of priorities. In 1874, it was arranged that premises for a half-time school:

form the top flat of a Weaving shop and consist of one room 70 ft. long, 21 ft. broad and 10 ft. 4 ins. high.¹⁴²

This gave room for 180 pupils and no permanent school was provided for them until 1879.¹⁴³ The common practice of allowing attendance at school one day and mill work the next, both disrupted school organisation and, as HMI Mr. Marshall noticed, "What is acquired the one day, is lost the next".¹⁴⁴ It cannot be expected that children with these disadvantages could ever form more than the exception in any study of social mobility.

What then, of children who did have the opportunity of social mobility? If we equate this with the opportunity to receive more advanced and specialised education, it would be correct to view the Act as putting this within the grasp of a great number of public school pupils. The Specific Subjects only became grant earners in Scottish schools in 1872, though they had been on the English Code since 1867. The numbers increased spectacularly in the '70's - from 4,407 in 1874 to 33,777 in 1878.¹⁴⁵ In 1865, in the Dick Bequest area, considered to be the most educationally advanced in Scotland, only 603 studied mathematics; 860, Latin; 196, Greek; and 88 French. The total number of pupils coming under the scheme was about 14,000.¹⁴⁶ As

¹⁴¹ PP 1883, XXVI, Muir, p. 153.

¹⁴² GCA Glasgow SB Minutes, 3/7/1874.

¹⁴³ GCA, D.ED. 7.35A.1.2. Campbellfield School Log Book, 8/8/1879.

¹⁴⁴ PP 1888, XLI, Marshall, p. 255.

¹⁴⁵ PP 1878-9, XXV, Committee of Council, p. xvi.

¹⁴⁶ S.S. Laurie: Report on the Dick Bequest, 1865, pp. 346/7.

mentioned in Chapter 3, direct comparisons are difficult. However, Kerr, who inspected schools in Glasgow and south Lanarkshire in 1880, found 15,054 pupils of an average attendance of 61,573, studying one or more Specific Subjects.¹⁴⁷ Even allowing for a high presentation from the High School of Glasgow, this gives almost a quarter of all children in receipt of some form of advanced education. This compares favourably with the Dick Bequest proportion of one-eighth. The Act then, offered the chance of educational advancement to those who could afford to stay on at school and profit by advanced instruction. Finance was less of a problem than it had been before 1872, when the cost of education was proportional to subject and not Standard. The fees of Standards V and VI seldom varied. Again, the offer of a government grant of 4s. for each pupil who passed an examination in a Specific Subject, made it popular with school boards. One inspector, indeed, believed that its popularity with the boards led to abuses.

In some such instances specific subjects are taught from a mistaken notion that the teacher will otherwise lose the favour of the board.¹⁴⁸

Stewart agreed with this criticism:

If the latter the teacher secures a large pass in Specials and a large grant there is joy all round; the ratepayers are pleased; the board are jubilant and the children suffer.¹⁴⁹

Clearly the educational value of Specific Subjects could be questioned - this will be dealt with further in Chapter 8 - but there is no doubt that from the local board's viewpoint, a limited amount of advanced education could be a profit rather than a loss to the ratepayers. External conditions for the promotion of advanced instruction were good.

¹⁴⁷ PP 1881, XXXIV, Kerr, p. 132.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid, p. 132.

¹⁴⁹ PP 1888, XLI, Stewart, p. 206.

Given then, that opportunities existed for educational advancement after 1872 and that increasing numbers took advantage of them, who were the pupils who studied these subjects? In what numbers did bright working class children - the 'lad (and lass) o' pairts' - study the Specific Subjects? Information on this head is scanty. The SED in 1878 instituted an Inquiry into Specific Subjects which dealt, among other things, with the approximate social class of those studying Specifics. On the whole, the information furnished is very defective. The Table on page in Chapter 8, does no more than offer a guide to the problem. However, it does show that the children of the manual working class were outnumbered by the middle and lower middle class by 26 to 3 in Ayrshire; by 36 to 1 in Glasgow; and by 11 to none in Roxburghshire. It was only in Sutherland that parity was reached - two each. In a sense, the numbers are so low as to be susceptible to almost any interpretation. It is safe only to suggest here that there is a strong likelihood that working class children were less able, generally for economic reasons, to use the Specifics as rungs in the ladder of social mobility.

If we suggest that one reason for this was economic handicap - that the parents of bright working class children were unable, or too selfish, to forgo the earnings their children could bring in - did the institution of bursaries for advanced education do anything to help? One body which did offer bursaries for advanced education after 1872 was the SSPCK. On at least two occasions, however, it was found necessary to disqualify the recipient on the grounds that the child did not belong to the working class. Unfortunately, the Reports do not make clear the social class of the final recipient. The Society also helped those school boards with small, very scattered populations, which found it hard to provide education for isolated children.¹⁵⁰ It was the cities, however,

¹⁵⁰ SCC Creich SB Minutes, 18/12/86. £5 to school at Ben More.

which got the bulk of help in educating poor children. Glasgow operated a number of endowed schemes for poor children over the age of ten, usually on the basis of remission of fees, with the balance to the bursar if these were less than £2. 10s. per annum.¹⁵¹ The Glasgow Board's policy was to restrict awards to those who were poor but 'respectable', as a number of letters from the Educational Endowments Department show:

No. 117 Respectable people, but not thought to be a needful case.

No. 276 Father very intemperate - mother resp^l sic and industrious.

No. 288 Not civil to officer when making inquiry - not a suitable case.¹⁵²

A number of questions arise here. First, did educational endowments, concentrated as they were on certain regions of the country, make any real contribution to the education of children who were in need? Second, is there any evidence to suggest that this gave such children a chance of greater social mobility? Third, was it those children who were most in need who benefited?

Where educational endowments were concerned, the cities, as mentioned above, fared quite well. Apart from the Board Free Scholarships, Glasgow had Logan and Johnston's Scheme, which provided industrial instruction for girls and a number of evening school bursaries. There were also the various bursaries administered by endowed, non-public schools in the city. On the other hand, numbers were restricted. Usually only one child from each family was permitted to benefit; his equally needy brothers and sisters were ineligible. There was, of course, the occasional exception:

¹⁵¹ GCA Glasgow SB Letter Book, D.ED. 1.1.9.4., letter to James Henderson, Head teacher of Thomson Street School, 26/5/1887.

¹⁵² GCA Glasgow SB Letter Book, D.ED. 1.1.9.4., forms of application for Board Free Scholarships, 28/10/86.

No. 401 - Applied for four children - large family -
no income - delicate health - two admitted.¹⁵³

Even so, it seems unlikely that even in a well-endowed area, that all those who would have benefited were covered. Indeed, part of the Glasgow problem was that children left school as soon as they legally could - they got partial exemption after Standard IV which enabled part or half-time work to be undertaken. Though, as Roxburgh points out,¹⁵⁴ Glasgow did take the lead in putting a very strict interpretation on exemptions, this was policy only after 1901. Prior to that, the board did its best to encourage children to stay by means of the free scholarships (for children under ten) and the School Bursaries for those of ten years and older who had passed Standard V. The purpose was not so much to provide advanced instruction, as to keep the poor but bright at school for as long as possible. The inspectorate also recognised this problem¹⁵⁵ and particularly deplored the practice of pupils leaving school at too young an age to undertake adult work and filling in the gap with odd jobs.¹⁵⁶ The Glasgow bursaries were an attempt to keep this tendency in check but there were too few to make any real difference. After the introduction of free education for the junior Standards, the free scholarships were directed to help secondary instruction. This does seem to have made a difference - Robertson¹⁵⁷ noted an increase in the numbers presented by the Standards because of free education for

¹⁵³ GCA Glasgow SB Minutes, Educational Endowments Department, D.ED. 1.1.9.4., 24/1/1887.

¹⁵⁴ Roxburgh, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

¹⁵⁵ PP 1889, XXXII, Harvey, p. 238; PP 1890, XXXI, Ogilvie, p. 251; *Ibid.*, Kerr, p. 215.

¹⁵⁶ PP 1886, XXVII, Stewart, p. 234; PP 1889, XXXII, Stewart, p. 271; PP 1892, XXXI, Robertson, p. 293.

¹⁵⁷ PP 1892, XXXI, Robertson, p. 293.

the compulsory Standards. That there was this increase in the early 1890's, suggests that fee-paying did indeed harm the educational opportunities of the able but indigent. The Glasgow bursaries must have helped this group but could not have aided all who might have benefited; government action and finance was needed before there could be a substantial improvement.

Rural children fared even less well than those of Glasgow. The Ferguson Bequest ceased to operate for elementary schools after 1872,¹⁵⁸ thus cutting off one way of improving the quality of education in six western counties in Scotland. Of the 25 school board districts examined in detail in this study, only eight, including Glasgow, had any record of any sort of educational endowment. Of these, the SSPCK contribution to Creich has already been noted. Dalmellington had the Gaa Bursary but this was not tenable at local schools but in the Academy at Ayr.¹⁵⁹ The mortification of St. Quivox was eight bolls of oatmeal from Auchencruive Barony, but this was not applied to needy children but was instead part of the salary of the schoolmaster.¹⁶⁰ Incidentally, this shows what happened to some of the ancient school dues after 1872. Only one rural school board used its bequest - Miss Clark's - to help with the education of poor children.¹⁶¹ The other four boards using their bequests for this purpose were, significantly, urban rather than rural. Glasgow has already been noted. Duncan's Fund educated free about five children a year in Old Cumnock.¹⁶² Kelso had

¹⁵⁸ Boyd, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

¹⁵⁹ ACC Dalmellington SB Minutes, 7/6/88.

¹⁶⁰ ACC St. Quivox SB Minutes, 16/1/83.

¹⁶¹ ICC, Daviot and Dunlichty SB Minutes, 10/6/84.

¹⁶² ACC Old Cumnock SB Minutes, 22/1/76; 16/3/76 and *passim*

quite a number of small endowments used for poor children - Douglas', Frater's, Samson's and Mrs. Eaton's.¹⁶³ Hawick Burgh offered the Orrock Bursary for higher or technical education but this was a competitive examination for which only those in Standard VI or ex-VI were eligible,¹⁶⁴ so it cannot strictly be included with those for the behoof of poor children. It seems unlikely, then, that local educational endowments did much to help poorer children on their way through school. There were too few of them and too few benefited locally.

The other point at issue here, social mobility, can be at least partially answered from the post-72 reports of the Dick Bequest. Simon S. Laurie noted that even those who did benefit from advanced education did not necessarily become socially mobile. He said:

The higher education ... is shared in by a very much larger number than those going on to professional training who settle down in their native parishes, or, if they leave them, follow the ordinary work of life as artisans, tradesmen and clerks.¹⁶⁵

The Dick Bequest did continue to function after 1872 specifically to bolster up the higher subjects, so while not strictly helping the poorest, it did, at least in theory, help the talented but indigent. If, however, we give any credence at all to Laurie, (and he was recognised by contemporaries as the foremost authority on education) it must be said that advanced education by itself was not necessarily the pathway to social mobility. There had to be, at the very least, some sort of reward; preferably, for the intelligent but poor, of a financial nature.

¹⁶³ RCC Kelso SB Minutes, 7/5/73.

¹⁶⁴ RCC Hawick Burgh SB Committee Minutes, 25/10/87.

¹⁶⁵ S. S. Laurie, Edinburgh 1890, p. 43, Dick Bequest Report for 1890.

There was in fact such a reward in the Scottish education system after 1872. Indeed, the Act, by demanding that all Scottish teachers be trained and certificated, expanded the opportunities for such a reward. It also, at least in theory, provided a clear road to social mobility. This was the pupil teacher system. Not a new thing in itself, it became much more general after 1872. Even three years showed a significant increase in their numbers. In 1873, there were 3,619 pupil teachers;¹⁶⁶ by 1876, numbers had risen to 4,640.¹⁶⁷ Furthermore, a more generous allocation of central government money allowed more pupil teachers to take advantage of Normal School training.¹⁶⁸ That was the national situation. Pupil teachers were, of course, employed by the local school boards and that was where regional and rural/urban variations occurred.

School boards which had to provide a large number of small schools, or very small school board areas did not have pupil teachers. Classes were small enough to obviate the necessity for employing pupil teachers in order to keep the pupil/teacher ratio at its correct level. Of the 25 school boards examined in detail, four had no pupil teachers. There was no geographical 'bunching' - one was in Roxburghshire; one in Invernessshire; one in Sutherland; and one in Ayrshire. The boards concerned operated under different conditions. Bedrule was a very small parish, where the average attendance in its single public school was 39, according to the Gazetteer. In Invernessshire, the situation was different. The population was substantial but thinly scattered over a very wide area. This was the

¹⁶⁶ PP 1874, XX.

¹⁶⁷ PP 1877, XXXII.

¹⁶⁸ M. Cruickshank: History of the Training of Teachers in Scotland (1970) p. 86.

case in Daviot and Dunlichty in Inverness, where there were three schools. This board did, in 1899,¹⁶⁹ employ a pupil teacher but with the proviso that she be unpaid, since the attendance at her school was so small. Loth in Sutherland had two public schools by the '90's, but the attendance at each was low. Finally, Symington in Ayrshire had one public school but the attendance was such that two fully qualified teachers had to be employed. One, or even two, pupil teachers would not suffice.

The way in which pupil teachers were treated by their boards also differed. Glasgow was particularly solicitous. There were singing classes for its pupil teachers as early as 1875; special centres for their instruction were set up in 1882.¹⁷⁰ By the 1890's, pupil teachers in Glasgow were very definitely students rather than cheap substitutes for teachers. From 1881, the board were in advance of national requirements for pupil teachers¹⁷¹ - even the entrance qualifications were higher, at a pass in Standard VI and one Specific Subject. From 1892, a Pupil Teachers' Institute operated in the city. This allowed for day release of pupil teachers; they spent half their time at school and the other half at the Institute.¹⁷² The government followed the Glasgow precedent by suggesting in its Code for 1895, a half day system for pupil teachers.¹⁷³ In Glasgow, at least, pupil teachers had a chance to see to their own work and not just the school board's. Hawick, a bustling textile centre, offered higher salaries to its pupil teachers because of the competition from trade for their services.¹⁷⁴ On the other hand, one

¹⁶⁹ ICC Daviot and Dunlichty SB Minutes, 28/3/99.

¹⁷⁰ GCA Glasgow SB Minutes, 11/10/75; 9/10/82.

¹⁷¹ Roxburgh, *op. cit.*, p. 201. ¹⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 203.

¹⁷³ Cruickshank, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

¹⁷⁴ RCC Hawick SB Committee Minutes, 18/8/73.

of its pupil teachers did poorly in examinations because he had to walk in three miles from the country in order to arrive at 8.30 a.m. for half an hour's instruction before classes began. Not surprisingly, he was often late.¹⁷⁵ Despite its initial offer of higher salaries, Hawick Burgh school board saw its pupil teachers as supplements to teaching requirements. In 1896, eighteen Hawick pupil teachers sent a petition to their board.¹⁷⁶ They asked the board to conform to the 1895 Code, which laid down a maximum of five hours teaching daily and twenty hours in the week. They pointed out that the reason they did poorly in the entrance examinations for training college was that pupil teachers under other boards got more study time. When this petition was refused,¹⁷⁷ they asked for permission to have 9.00 a.m. to 10.00 a.m. off each day for study purposes. The board, on the advice of its head teachers, refused this petition too.¹⁷⁸ The head teachers wanted the pupil teachers at school when it opened, so that they could supervise the playgrounds (line duties) and be present in case an assistant teacher was ill. It was also felt that pupil teachers should be at school so that their study could be supervised and they were offered a classroom as a study room. One wonders where this extra accommodation was to come from. In June, 1896, the Infants at Wilton school exceeded the ten square feet per pupil limit and it was expected that after the holidays they would exceed the old eight square feet per pupil requirement.¹⁷⁹ Hawick was not the only school board which regarded its pupil teachers as substitute teachers. Pupil teachers at Old

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 5/6/76.

¹⁷⁶ RCC Hawick Burgh SB Committee Minutes, 10/1/1896.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 20/2/1896.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 16/3/1896.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 17/6/1896.

Cumnock were apparently not given regular instruction until 1895, when a resolution of the board decided they should be instructed by the assistant teachers each morning between 8.30 a.m. and 9.15 a.m.¹⁸⁰ The same resolution instructed Mr. Brown, the head teacher at Cumnock Public School, to be present at this period two or three times a week to "see that the work is done". It seems that the Code of 1895 resulted in the Cumnock board looking more closely at its pupil teacher system and disliking what it saw. On Christmas Day, 1895, the Old Cumnock board met and decided that pupil teachers would be dismissed if they did not take the Training School examination at the proper time.¹⁸¹ The board further resolved that any pupil or ex-pupil teacher who failed to get into the Normal School should leave the board's service on December 30th of that year. Mr. Brown, the principal teacher, was opposed to this resolution,¹⁸² because it meant getting rid of ex-pupil teachers and experienced five-year indentured pupil teachers only two or three weeks prior to the inspector's visit. He further pointed out that under Article 32c.1. of the Code, the Infant Department needed an ex-pupil teacher - three pupil teachers were no substitute. Apparently, the board's motive for this action was to avoid paying ratepayers' money after the end of a pupil teacher's formal indenture. However, it seems that a combination of Brown's criticisms and a new school board resulted in a compromise. Pupil teachers who had completed their engagements and who were waiting to enter Training College, were permitted to remain in the Old Cumnock board's service.¹⁸³

¹⁸⁰ ACC Old Cumnock SB Minutes, 19/12/1895.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., 25/12/1895.

¹⁸² Ibid., 23/12/1896.

¹⁸³ Ibid., 12/5/1897.

Some pupil teachers were treated differently by their boards, though still in a manner which made their employment a financial gain rather than loss to the board concerned. Dalrymple used the pupil teacher system to encourage pupils to stay on longer and thus earn higher government grants for the board.¹⁸⁴ On the whole, however, most boards seem to have employed their pupil teachers as cheap labour, useful for grant earning purposes. The boards, naturally, did not regard the pupil teacher system as an avenue of advancement for the poor but able. In general, pupil teachers were not employed for altruistic reasons but in order to save the ratepayers' money. Nevertheless, since under the system able pupils (two boards chose them after an examination by the inspector)¹⁸⁵ were permitted to stay on for five more years after the Standards and, in return for routine teaching of the lower classes, were paid and given further tuition, one avenue of social advancement was apparently widened.

But were pupil teachers really from the working class? No exact answer can be given. School boards did not usually mention in their minutes the occupation of the parent of the prospective pupil teacher when indentures were signed. All the same, of the school boards under study, it is interesting to note the number of times that the children of the teachers held this position. This happened in four school boards - in Daviot and Dunlichty;¹⁸⁶ in Hobkirk;¹⁸⁷ in Linton;¹⁸⁸ and in St. Boswells.¹⁸⁹ In a fifth case, Symington,¹⁹⁰ there were

¹⁸⁴ ACC Dalrymple SB Minutes, 23/10/91.

¹⁸⁵ ACC St. Boswells SB Minutes, 27/2/1878; ACC Old Cumnock SB Minutes 1/10/1891. This was an exception because marks equal.

¹⁸⁶ ICC Daviot and Dunlichty SB Minutes, 25/3/1899.

¹⁸⁷ RCC Hobkirk SB Minutes, 4/4/1877.

¹⁸⁸ RCC Linton SB Minutes, 4/11/1885.

¹⁸⁹ RCC St. Boswells SB Minutes, 20/2/1879.

¹⁹⁰ ACC Symington SB Minutes, 15/5/1876.

no pupil teachers but the daughter of the teacher became the assistant teacher. The only other mentions of occupations of parents are Creich, where the son of a shoemaker was appointed; and St. Boswells where the son of a saddler was indentured. There is a reason for this apparent anomaly; parents who were teachers were easily identified and were, in any case, mentioned specifically by the boards concerned. Once more the numbers are too low to do more than suggest that for working class children, this avenue, too, of social advancement was more likely to be pre-empted by the better-off.

What we do not know, unfortunately, is the number, if any, of bright working class children who became pupil teachers once competitive examinations for this post, administered by the boards or occasionally the inspector, came to be commonly used in the '80's. Hawick, for example, had twenty pupil teachers who sat the Lower Grade examination in 1898. They could not all be the children of teachers. Nor could this be true of those in Glasgow or in Old Cumnock. In the latter case, the attraction of other professions can be seen very clearly. Five pupil teachers were released from their indentures for this purpose.¹⁹¹ The proposed destinations of those pupil teachers released from indentures are interesting. Three, including one female pupil teacher, went into other professions. One went to university, while another went into the Art Department of Blackie and Son, the printers. Perhaps it was because many pupil teachers did seem to see their indentures merely as a means of staying on longer at school and so fitting themselves for professions other than teaching, that Old Cumnock school board introduced such strict regulations regarding them in the mid 1890's. As already mentioned, we do not know for the most part the original social

¹⁹¹ ACC Old Cumnock SB Minutes, 6/5/80; 29/8/81; 7/3/83; 9/6/97.

class of the pupil teachers. It does not seem to have been a matter which much exercised the inspectorate. I could find only one direct mention of social origins of pupil teachers in the Reports from 1872 to 1899. In 1885, HMI, Mr. Barrie thought:

Pupil teachers, as a body, are drawn from the elite of the working and lower middle class households.¹⁹²

This seems to tie in with the, admittedly scanty, figures given in the 1878 SED Inquiry into Specific Subjects. Note that Barrie considers them to come not from the ordinary run of artisan families (in the case of working class children) but from the elite. The pupil teacher system did produce a measure of social mobility but mainly for those who were already on the way up.

Though it therefore seems impossible to hold that the pupil teacher system in practice offered much social mobility for working class children, one group could certainly be said to have had its horizons widened by the system. This was women. Teaching had, from the eighteenth century, been a 'respectable' profession for young ladies. With 1872, the opportunities were vastly expanded. Significantly, the four pupil teachers who were children of teachers were all girls. Of the five pupil teachers released from their indentures by Old Cumnock, only one was a girl.¹⁹³ The HMI pointed out that it was possible for local boards to get a much superior class of girl than boy as pupil teacher and for the same money.¹⁹⁴ Indeed, in Hawick, because of its policy of defeating the lure of commerce and industry, female pupil teachers began at £10 per annum and rose to £25; boys started at £12 10s. and rose to £30.¹⁹⁵ This was the exception, however.

¹⁹² PP 1886, XXVII, Barrie, p. 174. ¹⁹³ ACC Old Cumnock SB Minutes, 9/5/1897.

¹⁹⁴ PP 1874, XX, Walker, p. 38.

¹⁹⁵ RCC Hawick Burgh SB Committee Minute Book, 18/8/73.

Most pupil teachers began at £10 per annum, whether male or female.

Later, of course, female teachers were cheaper to employ - the average male teacher's salary in 1899 was £143 7s. 9d.; the average female

salary was £69 19s. 7d.¹⁹⁶ This made them attractive to school boards

and the numbers of certificated female teachers increased enormously after

1872. In 1874, there were 836 female certificated teachers, as against

1,850 men; in 1888, there were 3,627 women and 3,643 men.¹⁹⁷ 1872

did present then, while not strictly an avenue of social mobility for women,

greatly widened horizons. Teaching offered women some sort of financial

independence; it also offered employment in what contemporaries were

united in regarding as a respectable occupation. There can be little doubt

that female teachers were respected members of the community. The

inspectors' Reports make that clear. Local people, too, took an interest

in their teachers. A collection of press cuttings from Lilliesleaf Reading

Room (now long defunct) records, it seems, mainly the activities of local

teachers. The Southern Reporter of 1875 noted:

Miss Esther Aitken, formerly pupil teacher in the Currie School Lilliesleaf, and who has lately completed her training in the Normal School, Moray House, Edinburgh, has just been appointed assistant teacher in the Duchess of Roxburgh's School, Kelso.¹⁹⁸

Again, in 1890, the same newspaper records with pride that Miss Elizabeth

R. Shephard, an ex-pupil teacher in Lilliesleaf, passed 37th in Scotland

in the examination for the Free Church Training College, Glasgow.¹⁹⁹ In

¹⁹⁶ PP 1900, XXIV, Committee of Council, p. 24.

¹⁹⁷ PP 1889, XXXII, Committee of Council, Table 6.

¹⁹⁸ Southern Reporter, 30/11/1875.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid, 16/10/1890. Both references by courtesy of the Rev. E.G.S. Traill, formerly minister at Lilliesleaf.

financial terms, Lilliesleaf was less than generous to its teachers but at least they were, otherwise, valued members of the community.

It may be concluded that, in general terms, 1872 offered greater opportunities for social mobility. It offered a wider and more advanced curriculum for those who saw the way to social mobility lying in higher educational qualifications. Increasing numbers of pupil teachers were given employment; bursaries and endowments in theory helped the able but poor. Those who took advantage of the increased opportunities are less easy to identify. From the scanty evidence available, it seems likely that most belonged to the middle or lower middle class, with a number of artisans' children also benefiting. The working class child did benefit to some extent but he remained an exception. There can be no doubt, as will be discussed briefly in the following sections, that children from working class backgrounds did become financially and socially successful later in life but it is difficult to attribute this directly to the education they received. The 1872 Education (Scotland) Act offered to each Scottish child the possibility of literacy. External conditions undermined this opportunity in some cases. Parental poverty or indifference resulted in children leaving as soon as they passed the necessary Standard for part-time employment; often, as a result, these children did not consolidate what they had learned and became, after a few years, virtually illiterate. In a few areas, the desire of some school board members to employ child labour resulted in lax enforcement of the compulsory clause, thus further re-inforcing instances of parental indifference to the education of their children. Fee paying, and the necessity of resorting to the Parochial Board if this was impossible, seems also to have uninhibited attendance. Even where external conditions were favourable, where attendance was enforced, as in Glasgow, it appears from the local school board records that the children of the manual working class still benefited

less compared to other social groups, in what opportunities there were for receiving more than basic instruction. This was the case from the Educational Endowments Committee records. Children of this type did benefit but not all who were eligible could be covered. Similarly, those who studied Specific Subjects, or became pupil teachers, doubtless included a few working class children but they were the exception rather than the rule. Nevertheless, it would be incorrect to conclude from this that the 1872 Act did not encourage social mobility. In theory, at least, the opportunity was there; in an imperfect world, it was the practice that was deficient.

Section 4. School Memories

It might be thought that there would be a wealth of material under this heading. Nevertheless, a study of available biographies and autobiographies suggests that those including board school experiences are few and far between. There are many autobiographies by children of the manse but they do not seem to have attended the public schools their fathers helped to run. HMI, Dr. Woodford's comment certainly applies here:

In several of the country schools, and more especially in the parish schools, there are a few of the middle class, but the rest are generally such that the minister, though he may be a strong supporter of his parish school, often provides for the education of his own children otherwise.²⁰⁰

Similarly, the 'Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae' - short biographies of past and present ministers of the Church of Scotland - do not include board school experiences. It cannot be denied that many ministers, teachers and civil servants reached the middle class from very humble beginnings but these do not seem to include attendance at a public school. Or, if it did, they did

²⁰⁰ PP 1863, XLVII, Woodford, p. 140.

not write about it in their autobiographies. That is not to say, however, that State-aided education was of no benefit to the bright but poor. Both HMI, Dr. Kerr and John Struthers had been pupil teachers. The one became Chief Inspector of Schools in Scotland, while the latter was Secretary to the SED. Both used their experiences as practising teachers to modify over-rigid Departmental policy. Unfortunately for our purposes, they were well set on their future careers by 1872 and did not attend school board public schools.

Many of the school memoirs which follow came from the biographies or autobiographies of working class leaders. There are three reasons for this. Firstly, of course, they are easy to identify. Secondly, four were Members of Parliament - a form at least, of social progression. Thirdly, while in economic terms they moved out of the working class, they remained more or less faithful to the ethos of the labour movement - believing that individual progress should not be at the price of others' opportunities. Finally, it is remarkable how little board school education affected the economic opportunities of all the examples studied. Most children seemed to come through the ordeal of elementary board school education untouched - either for good or ill. Those biographies and autobiographies of working class boys who became labour leaders - though admittedly they are hardly the typical products of their society - make surprisingly little mention of their school-days. Very little can be read from their comments on their days at board school - harsh teachers seem to have been resented but that is really the most that can be said.

Two men, Clunie and Kirkwood, seem to have enjoyed their school days, though the latter's school career was short - he left school at the age of 12. The former made a rare judgment on the system:

At school, my education consisted of the 3 R's, which I was informed meant 'Reading, Riting and Rithmetic' and, of course, I accepted that, with geography, which made

me ill. Even so, my school days were never a burden on me, although I did not attend with unlimited joy and enthusiasm. Now I wish I had done so. All the subjects were in keeping with my social position and were sufficient to keep me occupied.²⁰¹

Kirkwood liked school and enjoyed history:

Moreover, I could recite all the major bones in the human body, and I knew the Bible stories.²⁰²

He won a prize for the latter branch and was proud enough of it to reproduce a facsimile of the dedication in his autobiography. His earlier comment suggests that although, clearly, all was not well with the teaching of animal physiology, some children enjoyed it.

Shinwell, McGovern and Gallacher had much less happy memories of school. All objected to the beatings they got at school.²⁰³ Gallacher even left his Roman Catholic school of St. Mirren in Paisley to go to the board school. He had been belted because he had not attended Mass the previous Sunday.²⁰⁴ Where a Roman Catholic school existed in a district, it was almost unprecedented for a Catholic child to leave that in order to attend the non-denominational board school. The belting must have been extraordinarily severe. McGovern transferred from one Roman Catholic school to another because he had been punished too severely. Mental cruelty could hurt just as much. Joe Corrie, a Fife miner and poet, made this clear in his poem, 'At the Burn's Play', He is addressing his former teacher:

²⁰¹James Clunie: Labour is my faith (1954), p. 29. Born 1889. Tutor Organiser for the Scottish Labour College.

²⁰²D. Kirkwood: My Life of Revolt (1935), p. 28. Labour MP and later Baron Kirkwood.

²⁰³E. Shinwell: Conflict without Malice (1955), p. 18. Labour MP and later Lord Shinwell.

²⁰⁴W. Gallacher: Last Memoirs (1966), pp. 9-10. Communist MP.

D'ye mind the time ye ca'd me tae the flair,
 Because my mither couldna buy me books,
 Makin' my flesh creep wi' your ugly looks
 Syne, tawsin' me till every bane was sair?
 And ye would claim the credit o' my airt,
 Well may ye blush - wha nearly broke my he'rt.²⁰⁵

These comments are perhaps significant when it is remembered that in the twentieth century the labour movement has been singularly slow at formulating an educational policy.

Dislike of the sort of discipline meted out at school board schools seems also to have coloured the school memories of boys who 'made it' to the middle class. Jack House, writer and broadcaster, wrote almost in disbelief of his first school, Haghill in Glasgow, where latecomers were belted.²⁰⁶ A.D. Griffen, an extremely successful New Zealand sheep farmer, wrote without regret of the day when he hit back at the head teacher who was beating him so unmercifully at Jamestown Public School in Vale of Leven.²⁰⁷ Looking back on their lives, these men did not seem to value school board education, or indeed any education, very highly. House left Whitehill Higher Grade School with relief at fifteen, to train as a chartered accountant.²⁰⁸ Griffen became a half-timer in the calico printing trade at the age of eleven in 1895.²⁰⁹ He finally left school aged thirteen, although he had not passed Standard VI. This dispensation, he wrote, was because he threatened to thrash the head teacher referred to above, if he was not allowed to leave.²¹⁰

²⁰⁵ J. Corrie: The Image o' God and other poems: At the Burn's Play, verse 2. Poet, playwright and miner.

²⁰⁶ J. House: Pavement in the Sun (1967), p. 18.

²⁰⁷ A.D. Griffen: No Wee Angel (1957), p. 41.

²⁰⁸ House, op. cit., p. 24.

²⁰⁹ Griffen, op. cit., p. 37.

²¹⁰ Ibid., p. 43.

One imagines that the teacher was delighted to see the last of him. That was not the case with the teacher of James Brown - Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1930. Brown's teacher at Annbank school in Ayrshire wanted him to stay on at school and become a pupil teacher. He refused, however, and in 1875 left school aged twelve, to become a trapper boy in a coal mine.²¹¹ His family were opposed but their financial needs were pressing.²¹² However, he went to night school until he was sixteen. J.L. Armour, who was receptionist at the Phillips Memorial Art Gallery in Washington, D.C., was less keen on education. Though he wrote kindly of his first Infant teacher,²¹³ and though he won a scholarship to Kilmarnock Academy, he left school to become an office boy when he was fourteen. Apparently, he disliked the studying.²¹⁴ Despite the curtailment, for one reason or another, of their public school careers, all seem to have prospered - though not because of opportunities offered at board schools.

Necessarily, the above memoirs cover the more sensational parts of school life. At the very least, their sojourn at board school provided these men with basic literacy. On the other hand, with the possible exceptions of Clunie and Brown, it does not seem to have inculcated a desire for further learning. On the contrary, the impression is one of acute boredom, mingled with resentment at corporal punishment. It is perhaps no coincidence that over half of these memoirs - six out of ten - make disapproving reference to the discipline received. Board school days were certainly not the happiest of their lives. Apart from Armour (who does not divide his autobiography into chapters), all devoted only one chapter to their schooldays. In their view, at any rate, school days were not the crucial deciding factor for future life.

211 A Gammie: From Pit to Palace: The Life Story of the Right Honourable James Brown, MP (1931), p. 35.

212 Ibid., pp. 37 and 39.

213 J.L. Armour: Look What Happened to Me (1958), p. 8.

214 Ibid., p. 22.

Conclusion.

This chapter has tried to show what it was like to be involved in one capacity or another in the public schools of Scotland after 1872. Many teachers found employment within them but this was not an unmixed blessing for them. Apart from the inspectors, whose visits were something of an ordeal, teachers had to put up with occasionally arbitrary and unjust treatment from their school boards. In some areas, accommodation was long in reaching acceptable standards. On the other side, many pupils benefited greatly - at least in terms of receiving a basic grounding in literacy - from their stay in public schools. Others did not attend regularly and so missed this opportunity. Lax school boards, poverty-stricken or indifferent parents and special regional difficulties - either agricultural or industrial - all contributed to poor attendance and early leaving. Social mobility was always a possibility - but apart from those who came from exceptional backgrounds, more of a theory than a practicable possibility. Finally, school memories in general were gloomy. Within the schools after 1872, all was not sweetness and light.

It seems likely, however, that a teacher's freedom of action was much more likely to be circumscribed by his immediate employer, the school board, than by his district inspector of schools. Inspectors could make teachers nervous; school boards could dismiss them. Differences of opinion over religion, as in Myron's case,²¹⁵ or over politics, as in Neill's case,²¹⁶ assumed enormous proportions at the local level. Inspectors were concerned only with the actual performance of a class under examination, and

²¹⁵ Myron was Church of Scotland - most of his school boards were Free Kirk, SCC Clyne SB Minutes, 1/7/1873; 27/3/1878; 6/5/1879, etc.

²¹⁶ Neill, op. cit., p. 91. Neill was a socialist.

many, like Kerr,²¹⁷ must have gone to great lengths to avoid being influenced by local gossip. The concern of the inspector that the school should be as roomy, well-ventilated and sanitary as possible was of greater benefit to the teacher, who spent his working hours there, than to the school board, who had to pay for such improvements. While it was true that some school boards exercised dictatorial powers over their teachers, in general, it may be suggested that a teacher had as much freedom in the classroom as he dared to take. It was, however, very much a case of nerve. In financial and tenurial matters, the school boards held the whip-hand. Neill was under just as much pressure to conform as teachers in Glasgow or Hawick. Like Myron in Clyne, however, he went his own way, believing what he did was right. All too often the children were pawns in conflicts beyond their comprehension. No one championed their interests. For example, boards and teachers saw success in Specific Subjects mainly in financial terms, rather than pertaining to the educational benefit of their pupils. Exasperated teachers, as in Kirkoswald, who threatened to leave forthwith unless their demands were met, would damage primarily the education of local children. The same applied to boards like the Lilliesleaf which sacked teachers in order to engage new ones at lower salaries. The last consideration seems to have been the children's interests. Only the inspectors could take a sufficiently detached view. Not surprisingly, they were often fiercely critical. They were the main campaigners for educational improvements but they too had their opinions - as over free education. They also had a master - an often parsimonious Department. Indeed, where working

²¹⁷ Kerr: Memories, p. 204. The minister and the teacher of one parish he visited had carried on a vendetta for years. Each tried to poison Kerr's mind against the other.

class children were concerned, it may justifiably be asked what, if anything, they gained from the new Act. Where regional circumstances and school board activity allowed, most children did receive the elements of literacy. All too often, lack of practice resulted in the partial loss of these within a few years. Social mobility was the exception rather than the rule. Palliatives to this were encompassed in the 1872 Act in the increased opportunities to study advanced subjects and to remain, paid, at school as a pupil teacher. School board minutes seem to suggest that those children already on the way up - the offspring of middle class parents or regularly-working artisans - were the most likely to benefit from these opportunities. Nevertheless, the Scottish educational system was open enough to account, perhaps, for the lack of serious social unrest. As in Brown's case, the possibility of advancement into the middle class through the teaching profession always existed for the intellectually able. What is surprising, perhaps, is that so few availed themselves of the opportunity, financial exigencies notwithstanding. Griffen abridged his education at eleven to become a half-timer, yet his father was a foreman slater in regular employment. The prevailing gloom over school memories may partially account for this. Compulsory education seems merely to have been something suffered between learning to walk and talk and going to work. It certainly was not a joyful experience for those most closely involved - either teachers or pupils. As Corrie noted, poverty made matters worse:

Puir faither died the day I went tae schule,
 For five lang years till Robin got a fee,
 Oor bellies girmed for want o' claes and meal,
 Oor wee minds numb tae sums and history.²¹⁸

²¹⁸ J. Corrie: The Image o' God: Seed Time, verse 2.

CHAPTER 5

THE SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF SCHOOL BOARDS IN SCOTLAND

Historians have wondered why the middle classes in Britain in the nineteenth century were willing to pay for the elementary education of the working class. Various answers, ranging from selfish social control to selfless philanthropy, have been suggested. If, however, the question is posed differently - who controlled nineteenth century Scottish education? - the answer is less ambiguous. Dr. Cook, of the Education Committee of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, had this to say on the subject of educational control:

A great advantage of the present board [*i.e.* the heritors] is that you are quite sure that they are all educated men, landed proprietors being almost invariably educated men ... They are persons who sit there in right of property.¹

The power of the heritors in the parochial school system could be formidable. As the Argyll Commission showed even in the late '60's, one man had the ability to obstruct education for an entire parish:

In another parish 30 of the children had to go to the church to be taught, as the school building was much too small. There was accommodation for 75 and 148 on the roll. Application had been made over and over again to the heritor, who possessed the whole parish, but he refused to add to the building, on the ground that he disapproved of education among the working classes, and that he could not be compelled to build.²

What was true for the Establish Church, was also true, by and large, for the schools of the Free Church, and, on a much smaller scale, for the Episcopalian and Roman Catholic. Control remained firmly in the hands of the landed and the propertied. The same applied to the factory

¹ Scotsman 2/3/71.

² Arg. Com. Rural p. 65, footnote.

and most of the subscription schools. The few exceptions among the subscription schools, which were controlled by the parents, were roundly condemned by the Argyll Commissioners who feared:

the great danger of intrusting the interests of education to the control of local boards of partially educated people ... 48% of the schools so managed that we examined were unsatisfactory.³

On the other hand, the Commissioners were also unimpressed with most of the endowed, proprietary and adventure schools in the same Lowland country area;⁴ none of these was subject to working class control. Despite these exceptions,⁵ it was the case that before 1872 at least, the control over elementary education in Scotland was vested in the hands of the middle and upper classes of the country. Was this position qualified by the Act of 1872?

Lord Young believed that his Act had set up in every school district in Scotland "a popularly elected school board"⁶ and it must be admitted that the electoral qualification set by his Act appeared to be fairly low:

The electors shall consist of all persons being of lawful age, and not subject to any legal incapacity whose names are entered on the latest valuation roll applicable to the parish or burgh for which the board is to be elected, ... as owners or occupiers of lands or heritages of the annual value of not less than four pounds.⁷

As the Gazetteer for Glasgow shows, the 1882 figures for school board

³ Ibid p. 86.

⁴ Ibid pp. 95-104.

⁵ 30-23 were visited by the Commissioners. Total number of schools in Scotland - 4,451.

⁶ Committee of the House of Commons 3/6/1872, quoted in A.C. Sellar; Manual of the Education Acts for Scotland (1894) p. viii.

⁷ Education (Scotland) Act 1872, Section 12/2.

electors - 119,743 - was substantially greater than either that of municipal electors - 79,581 - or Parliamentary electors, 60,313.⁸ It would appear that, taken at face value, the impetus of the second Reform Act had been carried over into educational matters and that the old union of the Established Church and the greater heritors was defeated. That section of public feeling which believed that the only way to get an efficient educational system in Scotland was "to place the schools under popular management and control"⁹ seemed to have triumphed, the protests of the Scottish Central Association of Schoolmasters notwithstanding. The latter group had solemnly warned the Lord Advocate in 1871 that:

any measure that left the teacher at the mercy of a local - board, constituted to a large extent, as it must necessarily be, in many rural parishes, of men his inferiors in education, culture, means and position, would ultimately prove a failure.¹⁰

On the other hand, the term 'popular control' is at best ambiguous. As used by Dr. Candlish of the Free Church (it meant Free Church, as opposed to Established Church control)¹¹ and by the Glasgow Trades Council (i.e. working class control)¹² the phrase rings differently. In the years leading up to 1872 the term was something of a catch-phrase for the opposition to the existing system. However, unlike the question of religious teaching in the new schools, or the matter of central control (Edinburgh or London), it did not excite much interest. Between January 1870 and August 1872, when the new Bill became law, there are only twelve

⁸ Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland, ed. F.H. Groome Vol. III (1883), Glasgow.

⁹ SRO GD 45/1/256 Programme of Public Meeting on Education held in Glasgow, February, 1854.

¹⁰ SRO LAP Box 18, Bundle 2, Scottish Central Association of School - masters to Lord Advocate 16/1/1871.

¹¹ Scotsman 2/3/1871.

¹² N.B.D.M. 7/3/1872.

direct references in the Lord Advocate's correspondence to the issue of popular control.¹³

There was obviously no concerted working class effort to ensure that control over the education of their children came into their hands by the Act of 1872. Also, even after the franchise was widened, local interest could not always be caught by education. The 1888 Glasgow school board election went uncontested despite the massive electorate involved. Certainly, the number of those qualified to vote in 1873 does not suggest that the franchise was particularly broad. The following table shows the number who were qualified to vote in twenty-five school districts in Scotland in 1873.

<u>A</u> County	School Districts	Population	Families	Votes	% Pop. Qualified
Ayr	Auchinleck	6,174	1,193	272	4.41
	Dalmellington	6,165	1,113	256	4.15
	Dalrymple	1,412	284	97	6.87
	Dreghorn	3,241	592	215	6.63
	Kirkoswald	1,623	352	143	8.81
	Muirkirk	3,253	698	279	8.58
	Old Cumnock	4,041	864	534	13.21
	St. Quivox*	1,363	289	89	6.53
	Symington	792	165	90	11.37
Roxburgh	Ancrum	1,391	298	144	10.35
	Bedrule	292	48	18	6.16
	Castleton	2,202	466	209	9.49
	Hawick Burgh	11,356	2,429	2,289	20.16
	Hobkirk	718	136	71	9.89
	Kelso Burgh	5,124	1,184	948	18.50
	Lilliesleaf	788	172	99	12.56
	Linton	570	102	30	5.26
	St. Boswells	973	205	168	17.27
Sutherland	Clyne	1,733	415	105	6.06
	Creich	2,524	600	236	9.35
	Loth	583	134	21	3.60
Glasgow	Glasgow [†]	447,156	106,722	101,871	20.20
Inverness	Daviot and Dunlichty	1,598		131	8.20
	Kiltarlity	2,537		215	8.47
	Kirkhill	1,582		111	7.02

¹³ SRO LAP Boxes 18, 19 and 20. 497 items in all.

* St. Quivox consisted of the landward parts of St. Quivox and Newton-on-Ayr parishes.

Sources: (i) For the Counties - Census for 1871. Valuation Rolls
 (ii) For Glasgow - Census for 1871. For voters, School Board Letter Books.

The Table above shows that the numbers of those enfranchised varied widely in different parts of the country. It is noticeable that Roxburgh had, in general, except for Glasgow a higher percentage than other areas, accountable, perhaps, to its prosperous arable farms. On the other hand, we might expect that Ayrshire would have a greater number of voters than it did. The county, after all, had good farm land and a rapidly developing mining industry. It was the latter fact which accounted for the low proportion enfranchised, however. Miners' cottages in the Valuation Rolls accounted for a good number of the holdings in the parishes, and at this period the rents varied from £2.18s. to £3.12s. per annum in most cases. Variations inside the individual counties should also be noted. In Roxburgh, for example, the contiguous parishes of Ancrum and St. Boswells had respectively 10.35% and 17.27% enfranchised. The explanation for this was that St. Boswell was something of a market centre for the surrounding countryside and had, therefore, a higher rateable value. Indeed, a pattern seems to emerge from the figures above which suggests that those who lived in urban centres, or at least in market towns, had a greater chance of controlling the education of their own children. The reason for this was that rateable values were usually higher in such places, with correspondingly higher rents for houses. Furthermore, as we shall see later, these urban areas grew in population after 1872; more immigrants from the countryside came in, and hence rents rose under pressure of numbers. Glasgow, Kelso, Hawick and Old Cumnock all show this trend. This was precisely what did not happen in wholly rural areas like Sutherland and Inverness. Very

few of the inhabitants had a vote in these areas. Significantly, Inverness, with both more fertile agricultural land and a more diverse land-holding pattern, had a higher proportion of voters than Sutherland. Creich overtook the three Inverness boards, but that parish included Bonar Bridge, which accounts for the higher proportion. However, certain problems arise here. Day has argued¹⁴ that central government was unsympathetic to the Highland, and especially island area, by imposing on that region an alien administrative management. This also applied in educational matters. Yet only Loth fits in with this thesis. The other Highland parishes are no lower, in percentage terms, than many Lowland rural parishes. That at any rate was the case with the 1872 figures. Later Tables will show if this continued to be the rule. The following Table deals with the situation in 1885.

B 1885

County	School Districts	Population	Families	Votes	% Pop. Qualified
Ayr	Auchinleck	6,681	1,277	707	10.58
	Dalmellington	6,383	1,161	448	7.01
	Dalrymple	1,362	262	133	9.77
	Dreghorn	3,949	758	404	10.23
	Kirkoswald	1,515	305	198	13.07
	Muirkirk	5,123	999	900	17.57
	Old Cumnock	4,861	1,002	884	18.19
	St. Quivox	1,766	360	175	9.91
	Symington	697	148	92	13.20
Roxburgh	Ancrum	1,360	289	165	12.13
	Bedrule	269	48	25	9.29
	Castleton	2,256	486	323	14.32
	Hawick Burgh	16,184	3,440	4,064	25.11
	Hobkirk	662	136	84	12.69
	Kelso Burgh	5,235	1,258	1,119	21.38
	Lilliesleaf	718	150	112	15.60
	Linton	543	96	28	5.16
	St. Boswells	959	206	214	22.31

¹⁴ J.P. Day: Public Administration in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland (1918) p. 111.

Sutherland	Clyne [⊕]	1,812	442	218	12.03
	Creich [⊕]	2,223	542	398	17.90
	Loth [⊕]	584	124	48	8.23
Glasgow	Glasgow	511,415	110,013	136,075	26.61
Inverness	Daviot & Dunlichty	1,252	267	125	9.98
	Kiltarlity	2,134	523	238	11.11
	Kirkhill	1,480	357	131	8.84

* St. Quivox consisted of the landward parts of St. Quivox and Newton-on-Ayr parishes.

⊕ Includes Service Voters

Sources: (i) For the Counties - Census for 1881. Valuation Rolls.

(ii) For Glasgow - Census for 1881. For voters, School Board Letter Books.

Once again, the figures show very wide variations, with Roxburgh showing the greatest spread of figures. It is interesting that the lowest figures for this county, 9.29% in Bedrule and 5.16% in Linton, came from two parishes which depended entirely on the land for employment and income. General economic trends in farming at this time made it unlikely that land values would rise; hence the lag. Parishes with a distinct village nucleus, like Ancrum and Lilliesleaf, had an increase in their rateable value, unlike the parishes mentioned above. The figures are as follows:

	Ancrum	Bedrule	Lilliesleaf	Linton
RV 1873	£13,250	£4,198	£7,792	£8,484
RV 1885	£13,323	£3,944	£7,915	£7,787

Source: Valuation Rolls for Roxburgh.

The drift from the land can be clearly seen in the population figures for the parishes; in each case the population falls slightly. Generally, however, the rents of individual cottages seem to have risen in this period, according to the Valuation Rolls. This accounts for the fact that more people are qualified to vote in School Board elections. The only drop in the numbers qualified came in Linton, where, incidentally, the rateable value fell

farthest. Both in Ayrshire and in Roxburgh, the numbers qualified to vote in the towns rose markedly. There was also a very noticeable increase in the mining communities in Ayrshire, where the decision of one company to raise the rents of its cottages could have dramatic results. Muirkirk, up from 8.58% to 17.57%, was a case in point. The six Highland parishes showed the same tendency for the percentage qualified to vote to rise, as in the Lowlands. At least on the crude index of those qualified to vote, it seems as if Day is once more mistaken. However, it should be noted that these Highland parishes all lie toward the east side of the country. The land was more fertile, and the holdings apparently more capable of supporting families. Compare this with Lewis, where only 83 of 3,034 crofts in 1906 were rated at £4 or more.¹⁵ This gives a percentage of landholders qualified to vote in school bound elections of 2.74. This is below the lowest of the 1872 figures (Loth - 3.60%).^{*} It was not the incidence of Catholicism (Kiltarlity had a substantial Roman Catholic population), or the prevalence of Gaelic (1,721 of 2,134 in Kiltarlity, and 886 of 1,480 in Kirkhill spoke Gaelic) which accounted for the low percentage qualified to vote; it was purely and simply the value of the land. Interestingly enough, one of the reasons for confining detailed Highland studies to the eastern side of the country, was that only such parishes had complete records from 1873 to 1900.

15

Ibid p. 383.

* Indeed, compared to population (15,966 in 1901), the term of reference used in this Chapter, the percentage drops to an incredible 0.52.

No wonder there was unrest in this western part of the Highlands and Islands.

C 1897

County	School District	Population	Families	Voters	% Pop. Qualified
Ayr	Auchinleck	6,250	1,180	916	14.66
	Dalmellington	5,300	1,017	716	13.51
	Dalrymple	1,638	253	222	13.55
	Dreghorn	4,057	812	576	14.20
	Kirkoswald	1,477	335	301	20.38
	Muirkirk	5,165	1,030	1,062	20.56
	Old Cumnock	4,812	990	987	20.51
	St. Quivox*	1,119	241		
	Symington	621	137	131	21.10
Roxburgh	Ancrum	1,241	272	258	20.79
	Bedrule	246	45	49	19.92
	Castleton	2,023	463	424	20.96
	Hawick Burgh	19,204	2,977	4,986	25.96
	Hobkirk	631	134	115	18.22
	Kelso Burgh	4,730	1,090	1,300	27.48
	Lilliesleaf	690	145	162	23.48
	Linton	468	93	69	14.74
	St. Boswells	962	216	297	30.87
Sutherland	Clyne [⊕]	1,730	418	212	12.25
	Creich [⊕]	2,013	512	385	19.13
	Loth [⊕]	528	114	57	10.80
Glasgow	Glasgow	587,161	122,622	150,852	25.69
Inverness	Daviot & Dunlichty	1,106	244	131	11.84
	Kiltarlity	1,922	462	198	10.30
	Kirkhill	1,307	321	141	10.79

* St. Quivox. It was impossible to obtain the voters figure, since the parish was incorporated into Ayr Burgh for rating purposes in 1895.

Census figures apply only to St. Quivox, landward, and do not include Newton-on-Ayr.

[⊕] Includes Service Voters.

Sources: (i) For the Counties - Census for 1891. Valuation Rolls.

(ii) For Glasgow - Census for 1891. For voters, School Board Letter Books.

The figures for those qualified to vote in the election of 1897 again show an increase on the numbers for 1885. The percentage voting in rural and urban areas has become more equal. One possible reason for this was the more prosperous farming situation, particularly in areas like Ayrshire and

Roxburgh, where stock raising, both for meat and dairy produce, was common. Indeed, the only areas where there was no very dramatic increase were Sutherland and Inverness. The extreme poverty of the region presumably prevented large numbers of people from paying the moderate rent - by the mid 1890's - of £4 per annum. Even there, however, except in Kiltarlity, there was some increase. It seems that Day's thesis about public administration at least in the eastern mainland part of the Highlands, should be somewhat modified. There were difficulties in a national system of education, but at least in financial terms, these were no more thorny for eastern Highland parishes than for some of their Lowland rural counterparts. Again, the urban areas had the largest percentage enfranchised, while market towns and villages like Kelso and St. Boswells were clearly in a prosperous position. The rapid growth of the mining industry at this time was reflected in the figures for Muirkirk which by 1897 just outstripped the percentage for Old Cumnock - 20.56% to 20.51%.

So far, it seems from the figures that there was a steady rise in the proportion entitled to vote. It would be easy to assume from this that more people took an interest in their local educational arrangements and were prepared, at the very least, to vote in the triennial school board elections. That would be an erroneous conclusion, as the numbers of uncontested elections show. The following Table shows what happened in the twenty-five school districts in the elections of 1873, 1885, and 1897.

County	School District	1873	1885	1897
Ayr	Auchinleck	No Contest	Contest	Contest
	Dalmellington	Contest	Contest	Contest
	Dalrymple	Contest	Contest	No Contest
	Dreghorn	Contest	Contest	No Record
	Kirkoswald	Contest	Contest	Contest
	Muirkirk	Contest	Contest	Contest
	Old Cumnock	Contest	Contest	Contest
	St. Quivox	No Contest	Contest	No Contest
	Symington	No Contest	No Contest	No Contest

County	School District	1873	1885	1897
Roxburgh	Ancrum	Contest	Contest	Contest
	Bedrule	Contest	No Contest	No Contest
	Castleton	Contest	Contest	Contest
	Hawick Burgh	Contest	Contest	No Contest
	Hobkirk	Contest	Contest	No Contest
	Kelso	Contest	Contest	Contest
	Milliesleaf	Contest	Contest	Contest
	Linton	Contest	Contest	No Contest
	St. Boswells	Contest	Contest	No Contest
Sutherland	Clyne	Contest	Contest	Contest
	Creich	Contest	Contest	No Contest
	Loth	Contest	Contest	Contest
Inverness	Daviot & Dunlichty	No Contest	Contest	Contest
	Kiltarlity	No Contest	No Contest	No Contest
	Kirkhill	Contest	No Contest	No Contest
Glasgow	Glasgow	Contest	Contest	Contest

(Contest assumed unless No Poll specifically mentioned)

This Table suggests that five in twenty-five school board elections were uncontested in 1873. In 1885, after bitter disputes in the previous two elections over "economy", only four boards were uncontested. Matters were quite different by 1894. In that year, eleven elections were uncontested. There were a number of reasons for this, which will be discussed later. However, it cannot simply be assumed that a higher proportion enfranchised meant automatically a greater interest in education at even its lowest level - voting for those who controlled it locally.

What general conclusions can be drawn from the above Tables?

Firstly, it can be argued that the trend shows that more of the working class in the towns and villages were enfranchised as the century ended. We would expect this to be reflected in the social composition of those elected to the school boards. Up to a point, this is correct - See Table on page 226. Secondly, it might be suggested that an ethnic minority, like the Irish

Roman Catholics in the West of Scotland would be under-represented, since the vast majority were working class. By and large, this was the case, though Glasgow was exceptional, in that there is evidence that Roman Catholics were encouraged to "plump" for their own candidates. On the other hand, "plumping",¹⁶ that is, giving all one's votes to one candidate, was just as much likely to be practised by adherents on the Protestant side. For example, in the Glasgow election of 1873, the number of plumpers for the Rev V. Chisholm and for the Rev A. Munro, both Roman Catholics, was 107 and 153 respectively. For the Rev J. Page Hopps, a Unitarian minister, who supported outright secularism in education, the figure was 1,087; while the figure for the chief opponent of the Roman Catholics, Harry A. Long, missionary and Orange supporter was 3,337. Extensive "plumping" was not unique to Glasgow, as the Lord Advocate's Papers for 1873 show.¹⁷ Again, "plumping" was particularly an expression of denominational support. In Dundee, 199 voters plumped for the Episcopalian Bishop of Brechin, the Right Rev. A.P. Forbes; only 27 plumped for the Roman Catholic candidate, the Rev. Patrick MacManus. The Roman Catholic vote was better organised in Paisley, where 274 plumped for the Rev. John McLachlan, as against 200 for the Rev. William Fraser, the Established Church candidate.

One sect which seems to have been keen to support its own members was the United Presbyterian Church. In a letter to the Lord Advocate in 1871, the managers of the UP Church at Creetown emphasised:

In many country districts the cumulative vote will be absolutely necessary if the present management is to be changed or improved.¹⁸

Judging by their performance in Roxburgh and to a lesser extent in Ayrshire, the United Presbyterians did reasonably well, and in Ayrshire at least, better than the numerically superior Roman Catholics. Clearly "plumping" was a way

¹⁶ Education (Scotland) Act 1872, Section 12.

¹⁷ SRO LAP Box 2.

¹⁸ SRO LAP Box 18, Bundle 3. J. Craigie to Lord Advocate, 15/3/1871.

in which minority groups, if they bothered to organise themselves, could gain representation on school boards. Day has argued that this was an alien English imposition, foreign to Scotland, an 80% Presbyterian country, but as has been suggested, the Presbyterians themselves were divided. Some sort of representation of minority interests was also imperative - secularists like Page Hopps spring to mind. Perhaps Day's real opposition to the practice of "plumping" was that it accounted for the¹⁹ "presence of one or more 'difficult' members of the board". Admittedly this did happen - one thinks of Kidston in Glasgow, censured for his intemperate remarks about Roman Catholic board members.²⁰ But it can be argued that democracy is not best served by quiescent electors or elected representatives. A little school board conflict provoked some consideration of the direction best suited for local education - surely no bad thing, though administratively untidy. In any case, there are records of board members who did not get their places because of local plumping, yet were still troublemakers. Charles Howatson, a landowner and Muirkirk school board member persistently opposed the building of a new school, even threatening legal action.²¹ "Plumping" could account for school board dissension; it also provided the stimulation of minority views.

Finally, what conclusions can be drawn from the school districts in Sutherland and Inverness, which lagged so far behind the rest of the country in percentage representation? In Clyne at least, there was very great bitterness in elections for the school board. On the face of it, this

¹⁹ Day op cit p. 58.

²⁰ GCA Glasgow SB Minutes 13/10/1879. He used language "implying that they had been returned to the Board for the purpose of destroying the efficiency of the Board schools". He came 8th in the 1873 poll, with 283 plumpers.

²¹ ACC Muirkirk SB Minutes 13/5/1878; 25/11/1878; 21/2/1881; 21/3/1881; 13/6/1882; 21/8/1882.

bitterness was sectarian in origin. The bulk of the people were Free Church, but the local landowners belonged to the Church of Scotland, and the Duke was Episcopalian. Furthermore, it is interesting that only in Clyne and Loth were fewer than half of those mentioned in the valuation roll enfranchised. A comparison with other rural parishes like Linton and Symington is instructive:

Year	Parish	Voters	Non-Voters	Year	Parish	Voters	Non-Voters
1873	Linton	30	30	1885	Linton	28	28
	Symington	90	119		Symington	92	135
	Clyne	105	239		Clyne	218	459
	Loth	21	62		Loth	48	114

In Clyne this under-representation seems to have bred a fierce antipathy against the existing school board - there are fifteen ratepayers' petitions²² to the board in the years from 1873 to 1899. In addition, there were cases when land-owners like the Master of Blantyre resigned, rather than put up with constant bickering.²³ In this way, the school board usually had a Free Church majority. In Loth where the entire parish was owned by the Duke,²⁴ quite the opposite resulted. The school board neglected the education of children in the Port Gower part of the parish and recognised as efficient the adventure school there, an action which HMI Sime called "a curious puzzle" in 1881.²⁵ But there was no protest from the people. In November 1893, the Sanitary Inspector criticised the condition of the offices at Loth school, but the board delayed over the necessary repairs. In March

²² SCC Clyne SB Minutes: 5/10/75; 10/1/76; 10/2/76; 19/10/76; 6/2/77; 1/3/77-2; 15/2/78; 6/12/89; 8/12/91; 10/6/92; 4/3/93; 14/2/94; 19/10/94; 7/10/95.

²³ Clyne SB Minutes, 6/6/76, Master of Blantyre; 4/10/81, Peacock (factor) Lawson (farmer).

²⁴ In Clyne, quite a number of houses were not owned by the Duke, particularly where business premises for artisans were concerned.

²⁵ PP 1882 XXV Sime, p. 179.

1894, the school was closed because of an epidemic of diphtheria and typhoid.²⁶ Clearly, an unrepresentative school board was unlikely to take its responsibilities seriously enough.

Matters were not quite so bad in the other Highland area studied, Inverness. There again, however, it seems that some people did not have a great deal of confidence in the school board elected. There seemed to be some doubt as to whether the board really understood what was exercising the people of the locality. As in Clyne, the main expression of this was by petition. There were four petitions to Kirkhill board between 1873 and 1881.²⁷ The matters at issue were the positioning of a new school (the petitioners' request was refused), and the dismissal of an unpopular teacher - who resigned. Unlike the Clyne situation, the Kirkhill people seem to have either accepted their board's activity, or lost interest in education entirely by 1882. This was perhaps because their board's personnel remained unchanged. The board of 1882 was composed of exactly the same men as in 1879, and the occupational grouping had not changed since 1873 - one factor, two farmers, one minister of the Church of Scotland and one carpenter. Indeed, this group of men went unchallenged until the school board election of 1894. Daviot and Dunlichty and Kiltarlity school boards had more changes in personnel and occupations, but there also seemed to be less early unease about the education of the district. Only one petition, to the Kiltarlity board,²⁸ was found. This concerned the alleged cruelty of the teacher at Guisachan school. After an investigation, the teacher resigned, and the board resolved that no child should be hit with a stick and the belt was only to

²⁶ SCC Loth SB Minutes 4/11/1893; 10/3/1894.

²⁷ ICC Kirkhill SB Minutes 2/2/1874; 6/4/1874; 14/3/1881; 18/4/1881.

²⁸ ICC Kiltarlity SB Minutes 16/1/1874.

be used in "very special cases".²⁹ There, at least, was a prompt response to local disquiet. It is difficult to draw fair conclusions from the situation in these six Highland school districts. Sectarian rivalry was fierce in Clyne, but not apparent in the contiguous parish of Loth. Kirkhill saw some disquiet expressed about local education, yet conditions seemed little different from those at Kiltarlity - both had scattered pockets of population which all wanted a school in their locality, as happened also in Creich. Perhaps the mark of a successful school board was its skill in conciliating all shades of opinions among local parents and ratepayers - or was the result only apathy? How do we account for Kirkhill school board which in June 1889 allowed military posters in the schools, and in December granted its schools for Land League meetings?³⁰

The above Tables suggest general trends in representation for school boards. What was the picture in occupational terms? The same twenty-five school districts which were used for the percentage survey were used below. The total number of seats was 153,³¹ of which fifty-five were in Ayrshire; fifteen in Glasgow; fifty-one in Roxburgh; seventeen in Inverness; and fifteen (seventeen) in Sutherland. In some cases, it was not possible to find out the occupation of the members - see footnote with Table 4 for uncatagorised occupations. A general picture can be obtained from the following Table:

²⁹ Ibid 30/1/1874.

³⁰ ICC Kirkhill SB Minutes 7/6/1889; 26/12/1889.

³¹ From May 1879, there were 155 seats in the districts. This was because on 14/4/1879, the Board of Education allowed Creich school board seven members instead of five, in two polling districts to allow for the scattered nature of the population.

D

	1873	1885	1897
Class I Clergy	45	31	38
Class II Professional/ Commercial	27	30	29
Class III Upper Middle (landowning and capitalist)	32	29	21
Class IV Lower Middle/ Artisan	37	50	47
Class V Working Class	0	2	9
Class VI Women	0	3	3

These are not the Registrar General's classifications.

Class IV. Farmers included here. It was assumed they worked themselves on the land; they were not "gentlemen farmers".

Class VI. All three in 1885 belong to Class III (landowners' relations).

The same applies to two in 1897. The exception belongs to Class II (lecturer in Domestic Science).

What are the main conclusions that can be drawn from Table D? First of all, it is clear that the middle class and their allies remained firmly in control throughout the period. The clergy and professional classes (I, II) held seventy-two, sixty-one and sixty-seven seats in the elections of 1873, 1885 and 1897 respectively. With the addition of what might be called the landowning and capitalist group (III), over half of all seats were held by those who presumably would not choose to educate their own children in the schools which they administered. Secondly, it is apparent that there was a tendency towards greater representation for groups IV and V, the lower middle and artisan class and the working class itself. The same was true for women in Class VI - though see footnote to Table D. This is what might be expected as more and more families paid higher rents and hence were,

automatically enfranchised. The relatively fast growth of Group V is a case in point: from none in 1873 to nine in 1897. On the other hand, the number of working class representatives is not as great as one might expect. The sole Trades Council representative, in Glasgow, was included in this Group, though his occupation, a Friendly Society Member, does not fall neatly either into this category, or Group IV. His stated objective - free books for school children - does distinguish him from the views of most of those in Group IV, who favoured economy in school board spending. The Report of Glasgow Trades Council for 1890-91 gives the chief reasons for the paucity of working class representation. It was suggested that working class representation had failed mainly because of "the lack of organisation of the labour vote"³² and the Report added that it was not enough to contribute money; the voters must also go to the polls. It was also suggested that the speeches of Labour candidates were ignored by the newspapers. However, the problem of electoral apathy was not confined to the working class. Nor, as Roxburgh points out,³³ was it new - in the early Glasgow school board elections, the vote declined from 51% in 1873, to 39% in 1876, and in 1879 - was only 30%.

It will be noticed that one occupational group, the farmers, is predominant in Group IV.* It was assumed that these farmers worked their own land, possibly with some hired help, but were distinct from either crofters or landowners. In each election, they comprised over half of Group IV, the figures being twenty-five out of thirty-seven, thirty-one out of fifty; and twenty-seven out of forty-seven. Their numbers show their power in a rural community. They were well-represented in the six Highland school districts (in the three elections there were five, eight, and ten

³² Mitchell Library, Glasgow Trades Council Report, 1890-1 (printed).

³³ J. M. Roxburgh: The School Board of Glasgow 1873-1919 Edinburgh 1973 p. 32.

* See Table 4, Appendix.

respectively). As mentioned previously, this was not the area most affected by crofter unrest - though note the Land League meetings at Kirkhill - so the increase in representation for the farming group is not perhaps surprising. However, it is possible that this group, too, felt more able to make their voices heard once the power of the landowners had been challenged. Maybe on the other hand, farmers felt the necessity to expert their interests in the face of possible crofter challenge - take-overs of farmers' pastures by crofters were not unknown. Be that as it may, in the six Highland districts studied, there was an increase in the representation of this group. It is, perhaps, a little surprising that farmers should be so heavily represented in Ayrshire, which might be expected to place more emphasis on those engaged in industry; but, like Roxburgh, the county was largely in the control of large landowners, who fostered agricultural interests (Note the numbers of factors; there were six, five and six respectively in the three elections) and who leased mineral rights to various companies. A company like the Dalmellington Iron Company was a case in point: they had four iron-works in Dalmellington and in each election up to 1885, John Hunter, Ironworks Manager, was chairman of the school board.³⁴ In the same election, Thomas Smith, Factor, was also elected. So much, then, for the social class of those elected. How significant was the social class of those elected in determining the policy of individual school boards?

A broad, general, answer to this question might be found if it could be proved that class conflict invariably appeared during school board election contests. This was not the case. Admittedly, most of the elections between 1873 and 1900 showed that some matter other than merely the educational good of the school district exerted an influence over the

³⁴ ACC Dalmellington SB Minutes, 7/4/1873; 7/4/1886; 10/4/1879; 13/4/1882; 16/4/1885.

choice and subsequent action of the candidates. But working class representation as such was not an issue till the '90's, and then only in an area like Glasgow. Election issues ranged from the question of religious teaching in schools in 1873 to demands for "Economy" in 1879. The importance of the religious issue in 1873 can be seen in the numbers of clergymen - forty-five - elected in that year. The effects of demands for economy were not so clearly seen in the personnel elected, but their actions made their attitudes clear. Roxburgh notes that the Ratepayers managed to have four of their number elected in Glasgow in 1879, on a platform of strict economy, especially where teachers' salaries were concerned. The policy which they had carried, with the help of the three Roman Catholic, and one Town Council representative, was that teachers' salaries should not exceed the combined income from fees and grants.³⁵ Roxburgh adds that opposition to this came from apparently tradition-minded groups like the Established and Free Churches and their supporters, who favoured retention of the Shorter Catechism.³⁶ The same sort of people defended the policy of the 1870's - educational expansion - in other school districts. Retrenchment was opposed in Linton in 1880,³⁷ in Dreghorn in 1879³⁸ and in Muirkirk in 1880.³⁹ There were, of course, exceptions. No one on Dalmellington school board seems to have objected when it was decided to reduce the salary of a new teacher by £5 to £20 per annum.⁴⁰ Nor did anyone object when the same salary was reduced by a further £10.⁴¹ Even with that modification, we may still conclude that the Catechism party generally were

³⁵ Roxburgh op cit p. 40.

³⁶ Ibid, p. 41.

³⁷ RCC Linton SB Minutes 5/6/1880.

³⁸ ACC Dreghorn SB Minutes 5/11/1879.

³⁹ ACC Muirkirk SB Minutes 18/2/1880.

⁴⁰ ACC Dalmellington SB Minutes 26/7/1883.

⁴¹ Ibid 1/7/1886.

interested in maintaining and even expanding educational standards locally. Often they had been on the board since 1873, and may have felt a proprietary interest in the education they had helped to provide.

The School Inspectors were not impressed by local parsimony. James Smith, HMI for South Lanarkshire noted in 1879:

An irrational tendency to economise, aggravated by the present commercial depression. He added: Many teachers have had their salaries nearly halved by the new boards.⁴²

On the other hand, Smith noticed that sectarian difficulties still complicated education as late as 1879:

After one of the elections the triumphant party at once dismissed the teacher who had been appointed while the opposition were in power, and did not care to assign any cause for doing so, except that they had the right to do so.⁴³

Both these elections were in the same area of Scotland, and were in the same year, 1879. That two such very different issues were at stake, in an area with good communications, suggests that general issues were of less weight than local considerations.

On the other hand, although it seems more likely that local issues were of more importance during contests than nation-wide considerations, it would be wrong to dismiss the factor of class conflict completely. It was unnecessary for such conflict to be expressed overtly; sectarian differences might disguise class antagonism as in Clyne. On occasion, it was less a situation of class conflict and more a case of clashes of interest. The enforcement of attendance was an example. We have already seen the position in Glenlivet where attendance was not enforced, because the local board felt that the working class was becoming too well educated. Perhaps the fact

⁴² PP 1880 XXIV Smith pp. 161 and 162.

⁴³ Ibid p. 161-2.

that the bulk of the population were Roman Catholic also had something to do with it.

These clashes of interest did not originate solely from the working class. In 1883, a proposal by the wife of the Free Church minister at Creich in Sutherland, to provide soup dinners in winter for children who came from a distance, was grudgingly accepted, but the chairman of the board, Gilchrist of Ospisdal, a landowner, remarked that:

the children in Creich Parish look stout and healthy, as a rule, - they get a piece with them from their houses and seem to do well on it. To commence to assist working people when they do not require it, is tending to make them lose their dependence on themselves, and ultimately assist to pauperize them.⁴⁴

One suspects that Gilchrist did not often have a "piece" for his lunch in the middle of winter. In the same county, in Clyne school district, the people were largely Free Kirk, but the landowners belonged to the Church of Scotland. The conflict that resulted there had already been described. The preponderance of landowners, and in 1876, the co-option of James Peacock, factor, so that: "His Grace the Duke of Sutherland's interest as a ratepayer be represented"⁴⁵ suggests clear class division within the district. Much the same was true though on a small scale, for Ayrshire, where a miner, a labourer and J.K. Hardie were elected during the '80's.⁴⁶

It was, however, in the crofting counties that the most blatant examples of class antagonism appeared. Doubtless this went on in other areas of the country, but the Napier Commission brought it into the light for this part of Scotland at least. The crux of the matter was the low rateable

⁴⁴ SCC Creich SB Minutes, 6/12/1883. ⁴⁵ SCC Clyne SB Minutes, 13/3/1875.

⁴⁶ ACC Dreghorn SB Minutes, 31/3/1888 - One miner; ACC Auchinleck SB Minutes, 26/3/1885 - One journalist i.e. J.K. Hardie; ACC Muirkirk SB Minutes, 26/3/1888 - One Labourer.

value of the region. The example of Lewis has already been quoted, where only 2.61% of the heads of families had a vote even in the school board elections. The percentage of those who could vote in the Parochial Board elections is unknown, but with an election schedule divided into three - £20 owners, a maximum of six for the (Established) Kirk Session, and rate-payers representatives⁴⁷ - it seems highly unlikely that the ordinary crofter had more say. This situation resulted in men like the Chamberlain (an exalted sort of factor) of Lewis in 1874 being the Notary Public for the island, and the chairman of four school and parochial boards.⁴⁸ It also resulted in cases where the ground officer (sub-factor) for the Duke of Sutherland in Durness was attendance officer, sanitary inspector, and inspector of poor. His son-in-law was the teacher and registrar; his daughter, the teacher's wife, was sewing mistress; their son was assistant teacher; and finally, to round off the family circle, their daughter was pupil teacher.⁴⁹ Possibly theirs was an extreme case of nepotism run wild, but this comment of the Rev. James Bain of Duthill that

the school board, like the other boards, and the proprietor or his factor are virtually one and the same.⁵⁰

rings all too true.

What did this mean for the local people? Firstly, in areas where for example, only one school board member was resident till 1882, and where even the attendance officer was non-resident,⁵¹ it meant that even though the school board knew of poor attendance, it took no action.⁵² It also

⁴⁷ Day, op cit, p. 92.

⁴⁸ Ibid, p. 374.

⁴⁹ NC 1884, XXXII, p. 332, evidence of Rev. J. Ross, Free Church minister of Durness.

⁵⁰ Ibid, p. 372.

⁵¹ Ibid p. 9. Rev. J.M. Davidson, Established Church, Stenscholl.

⁵² NC 1884, ~~XXXIII~~, p. 151. M. Nicolson, farmer, Loanfearn.

made for local resentment at the existing school boards. Again and again, one finds mention of intimidation in the minutes of evidence to the Napier Commission. This did not always come from the possibly suspect evidence of crofters and Free or Roman Catholic clergyman. Rather reluctantly, the Church of Scotland minister of Sleat, agreed that there had been influence imposed in his local school board election.⁵³ Donald Macdonald, presently farmer at Tormore, denied at first any allegation of influence on his part while he was factor, but later agreed that he did have some sort of influence over the electorate in his opposition to a poll (which would put a small additional charge on the rate).⁵⁴ With this sort of evidence, it seems unlikely that all the crofter allegations of undemocratic elections were baseless. No wonder, that one of the policies of restless crofters in the '80's was to withhold their school rates. It may be suggested, in conclusion, that class antagonism, played a certain role in election contests. Is it possible to define any dichotomy between the actions of middle class and working class members on school boards?

Generally, the picture which emerges from the Minutes of school boards is unclear. In Loth, for example, a board dominated by the middle class, it was decided in 1875 to take no action against defaulters on the apparently compassionate grounds that absence was caused by poverty and lack of clothes.⁵⁵ In 1884, however, there were a number of defaulters because of the potato lifting.⁵⁶ Someone employed them, and the board elected in 1882 included two farmers and one factor.⁵⁷ In 1878 HMI Andrew Scougal regretted

⁵³ Ibid, p. 291. Graham.

⁵⁴ Ibid, p. 308.

⁵⁵ SCC Loth SB Minutes 6/3/1875.

⁵⁶ Ibid. 9/11/1884.

⁵⁷ Ibid. 8/4/1882.

the neglect of the compulsory clause by school boards in the Border counties and suggested that the cause was members:

whose only aims are 'to keep down the rates' and to interfere as little as possible with the supply to themselves of cheap labour.⁵⁸

As late as 1899, the HMI suggested that Old Cumnock school board

ask Messrs. William Baird and Company, Limited, to discontinue paying wages to school children during School hours.⁵⁹

Often, employers were aided and abetted by the parents, but it was still the education of working class children that suffered.

On the other hand, it would be quite incorrect to suggest that it was only the middle class which was concerned in cutting educational costs to the bone. Those members of the working class who were elected in Ayrshire during the '80's were obsessed by keeping the rates low, even if it meant, perhaps, damaging the education of their children. They held that they had been elected by the ratepayers and even James Keir Hardie felt moved to oppose a rate of 3d. in the £ in Auchinleck as "a servant of the Parish".⁶⁰ The miner, James Gold, who was elected to Dreghorn school board in 1888, was in favour of delaying an increase in the salary of the assistant teacher in the school.⁶¹ On the other hand, although Hardie was against any increase in the rates, he was not opposed to improvements in education. In 1886 he moved that if three or more children were at school, only the two youngest should pay.⁶² This would have had the effect of encouraging bright children to stay on at school over the legal age limit. The motion

⁵⁸ PP 1878-79 XXV, Scougal p. 199. In the same volume, HMI Sime (Ross, Caithness, Sutherland) noted, p. 216: "Child-labour, however, cannot be done without".

⁵⁹ ACC Old Cumnock SB Minutes, 15/3/1899.

⁶⁰ ACC Auchinleck SB Minutes 26/3/85.

⁶¹ ACC Dreghorn SB Minutes 21/12/89.

⁶² ACC Auchinleck SB Minutes 10/6/86.

was defeated. In the Glasgow school board election of 1897, James Boyd, who was sponsored by the Trades Council, fought successfully on the issue of free books for schoolchildren.⁶³ Nevertheless, the overall impression remains unclear. Those school boards which were controlled by the middle class were not invariably parsimonious. The position of many middle class board members during the drive for "economy" in the early 1880's was favourable to educational expansion. The inspectors praised the efforts of Glasgow in filling in the enormous gaps in the educational provision of the city. Nor, as can be seen above, were all working class candidates elected on a platform of penny-pinching.

There were other ways of expressing class differences within the school boards. The use of the word "difference" is deliberate, since it is not intended to argue here that the following were the deliberate policies of any one social class. In the school boards picked out for close study, there was never any discussion in the minutes either of when or where future meetings were to be held. All too often then, a subtle unconscious bias against working class members was present in the boards. Daviot and Dunlichty school board agreed to hold their meetings in the Inverness office - distant $6\frac{3}{4}$ miles - of A. Fraser, a solicitor and board member.⁶⁴ No doubt it saved the hire of a room, but how easy would it be for a crofter to travel that distance every month, and how comfortable would he feel once he arrived? How would a staunch Roman Catholic or United Presbyterian feel in Dalmellington, where most meetings were held in the Kirk vestry?⁶⁵ There must have been a less constrained atmosphere in Kirkoswald, where meetings were held in Mr. Harvey's Inn⁶⁶ but even if meetings were held

⁶³ Mitchell Library, Glasgow Trades Council Report, 1896-7 (printed) p. 10.

⁶⁴ ICC Daviot and Dunlichty SB Minutes 6/6/73.

⁶⁵ ACC, Dalmellington SB Minutes, 26/10/74.

⁶⁶ ACC, Kirkoswald SB Minutes, 7/3/89.

in the school, as in Muirkirk, or in the Corporation Buildings, as in Glasgow, it was still difficult for working class members to attend. Kiltarlity, in common with other rural boards held its meetings at 11 a.m. or 12 noon.⁶⁷ Linton arranged to hold its meetings on the same day as those of the parochial board for the convenience of three landowners, one farmer and one minister of the Established Church.⁶⁸ Indeed, one board at least recognised the difficulty facing working class electors - not just members - by holding an evening meeting for questions about education from the electorate.⁶⁹ But Old Cumnock was an isolated example, and in any case continued to hold its normal meetings during working hours. With the employment situation as it was in the late '70's and '80's, how many working class men could afford to ask for a day off on school board business - quite apart from the risk of antagonising his employer by standing against him in a school board election? It does not appear to have the deliberate policy of sitting boards to make life difficult for members who had to earn their livings during fixed hours, but it does give a further reason why ministers and the landed gentry were well-represented, as were well-doing farmers and tradesmen and shopkeepers.

It may be concluded, therefore, that the social composition of the school boards remained firmly middle class throughout the period. But it does seem, secondly, that other groups began to make themselves felt in educational matters; and this trend became more obvious in the '90's

⁶⁷ ICC, Kiltarlity SB Minutes 18/6/74. ⁶⁸ RCC, Linton, SB Minutes 3/5/94.

⁶⁹ ACC, Old Cumnock SB Minutes, 16/3/76.

Thirdly, the fact that external issues - particularly the financial crisis of 1879 and the early '80's - could have a bearing on the policies of those elected to school boards, confirms that education should not be examined in isolation from society. This may be borne out in the percentage of those enfranchised. Furthermore, the relative decline of upper middle class and clerical representation points to certain trends in Scottish society. The first group decline in numbers and importance. Roxburgh was, however, an exception* (eight out of eleven landowners in 1897 came from Roxburgh). As Pelling points out, the Border area was exceptional in any case - there was still evidence of "faggot-voting" in the first decade of the twentieth century.⁷⁰ The decline of the clergy suggests, correctly, that Scotland at least, was no longer wracked by Presbyterian religious bitterness to the same extent. There were still many ministers on the boards belonging to the Established, Free, and United Presbyterian Churches. The number of Church of Scotland representatives declines very slightly from 22 in 1873, to 20 in 1897. However, the numbers of Free and United Presbyterian Churchmen stays stable at twelve and four respectively. Indeed, it is only in 1885 that there is a sharp drop in clerical representation - to seventeen for the Established Church, six for the Free Kirk, and one for the United Presbyterians. All Churchmen, not just those in favour of the Catechism, seem to have been tarred with the same brush of extravagance in that election! More significant than the bare figures is the witness of school board minutes themselves. Apart from Glasgow, where religious sectarianism still flickered in the 1880's, there are no mentions in those records examined, of sectarian division over the Catechism after 1879. Denominational differences

⁷⁰ H. Pelling: Social Geography of British Elections, 1885-1910, (1967) pp. 396/7.

* See Table 4, Appendix.

continued, but they were no longer divisive, so far as school board activity in the non-Highland areas were concerned. The changing social composition of school boards emphasises the role of education as a mirror of society.

Finally, what influence did the social composition of the school boards have upon the education of Scottish children? The answer is not easy to find. One can point to the predominance of the clergy and conclude that education was Christian, which no one would seriously dispute, but what that meant in terms of broadening the mind or procuring employment is impossible to determine. One can point to the predominance of the upper middle, professional and commercial classes, but where does that conclusion lead? Does it mean there was a deep-laid plot to keep the education of the working class child in non-working class hands; or was it that education benefited from the guidance of people who could keep an objective distance from it? Does it mean that an 'unrepresentative' board was interested only in keeping down the rates for the selfish financial benefit of constituent members? It would seem from the evidence that this was clearly the case in the crofting counties, the 1886 Crofters' Holdings Act which conferred a measure of security of tenure and hence allowed those qualified to vote freely without fear of eviction, notwithstanding. But how does this fit in with Glasgow, where fifteen men and women, who could not by any stretch of the imagination be described as working class, provided what the HMI's considered to be the best education in Scotland? What are we to make of the growth of the lower middle and artisan classes on the boards? They had to make some sort of financial sacrifice to find the time to sit upon the boards; must we argue that they were motivated merely by "economy" or had some sectarian axe to grind? Why indeed, were people willing to serve on school boards? Was it always because of sectarian or selfish feelings, or from motives of vain glory? Had philanthropy, in at least giving up free time, some part to play

in this? Service on the school board often meant suffering the complaints of an electorate only half of whom bothered to vote. Was apathy the result of a feeling of powerlessness on the part of the electorate, or was it that they really did not much care what happened in education? No easy answers spring to mind. It is possible only to conclude that from whatever motives - base or exalted - the school board members of Scotland did oversee with relatively little fuss the education of virtually the whole of the Scottish people for nearly fifty years. That at least was an achievement of a kind.

CHAPTER 6

FINANCE, GOVERNMENT AND LOCAL AUTONOMY

The financing of education had considerable bearing on the degree of local as opposed to central control. This also raises the question of a Scottish as against an English direction to Scottish education. Who really had the power of decision-making? Is it possible to express this in economic terms? It would, however, be economism of the crudest sort to suggest that this was the only determinant in the relationship between the centre and the localities. Other factors have to be taken into account. One was the time lag between the passing of the Act in 1872, and its full implementation. There were twenty-one school boards in 1877 which had no schools under their control; by 1878, the number had dropped to sixteen.¹ These boards had no local rate expenditure, and the central government had no say in their affairs. Some school boards, like Loth in Sutherland, did their best to keep down local rates by recognising existing schools as efficient; the central authority did not always agree,² but could do little about it. In other cases, the heritors tried to circumvent their legal obligations by omitting to hold elections for school boards in 1873.³ In certain parishes, the churches still had some direct control of education. Voluntary schools continued to exist after 1872 and they still needed to be supported financially. Hence it was understandable that there was some local lack of enthusiasm about the new state organisation of education, particularly since it seemed likely to entail extra local expenditure.

¹ PP 1878, XXXII Third Annual Report of the Accountant to the Board of Education; PP 1878, XXX Fourth Annual Report of the Accountant to the Board of Education (hereafter referred to as Report of Accountant).

² PP 1882 XXV Sime p. 179.

³ PP 1874 XX Board of Education p. vii.

Here, however, the central authority did have a remedy and nominated boards for these parishes. In a few cases, local boards indulged in profiteering at the expense of their ratepayers. This practice was stopped by the Accountant to the Board of Education, who refused to pass accounts that gave an inflated fee to law agents in connection with procuring loans from the Public Works Loans Commission.⁴ Central control was at its greatest in the field of grants for attendance and for scholastic performance, however. Dissatisfied school boards could only complain about such financial decisions; they could not procure their overturn.

One large item of school board expenditure was, rather surprisingly, unregulated by the centre. Although teachers' qualifications were strictly defined by the SED, their salaries were not. Possibly, this was deliberately left vague in accordance with the laissez faire philosophy of the time. Possibly, the SED thought that teachers did not need the protection of a legal minimum salary, because at the passing of the Act there was a shortage of qualified teachers, and salaries in consequence rose fast.⁵ In any case, in the absence of central regulations, school boards could pay whatever they thought fit to their teachers. As we have seen in Chapter 4, the question of salaries was a fruitful source of controversy between teachers and boards.

How far were the differing emphases of local and central control the result of the Act of 1872? Did the Act bring with it a much stricter control of the localities than had hitherto been the case? What was the effect of the 1872 Act on educational endowments? And finally, did the Act mean the substitution of English for Scottish control of education in Scotland?

⁴ PP 1878 XXXI Report of Accountant p. viii.

⁵ PP 1874 XX Middleton p. 82.

Section 1. Denominational Education and the Privy Council.

In earlier chapters, we saw that the bodies responsible for the organisation of Scottish education were very diverse before 1872. The largest group, including the parish schools, some sessional schools, the side schools, the General Assembly schools, and indirectly, the SSPCK schools, were controlled by the Church of Scotland. Many of these schools had endowments, and a number were in receipt of government grants, either for building and/or maintenance, and hence were under central inspection. The parish schools were also supported by the heritors, who were legally obliged to do so. It was this that made the pressure to procure government grants less urgent for this last group of schools. The fact that there was already legally-enforced local finance for the parish schools meant that the heritors were reluctant to accept further financial demands. Yet in order to receive aid from the centre, the heritors sometimes had to be prepared to spend extra money. The Committee of Council requirements for school buildings were in excess of the legal heritors' obligations for the parochial schools. Obviously, in parishes where government aid demanded prior local expenditure there was some reluctance to comply with these conditions demanded by the central authority.

Free Church schools, unlike those of the Established Church, were not supported by the heritors. Thus, they were more eager to obtain grants from the centre. Also, since they dated from after 1843, many of them were built with the aid of the government building grants. The same applied to the schools of the Episcopalians and Roman Catholics, though these were few in number. One of the reasons why there were so few schools of this sort was the obligation imposed by the central government on the locality, to contribute an equal amount of money to that given by the centre.

Generally, the Episcopalians and Roman Catholics catered for the poorer section of the population, and this made it difficult to find the necessary funds to gain central finance in the first instance. Most of these schools drew little in fees, since they were concentrated in the poorer areas of the towns and cities. The same was true for the missionary schools run by the two main Presbyterian churches, and the UP church. All except the UP schools, whose organisers had objections of principle, were therefore eager to participate in the government grant. The difficulty was to qualify for it. The possibility of gaining central government finance attracted some of the factory schools and subscription schools as well. By 1871, 2,238 departments out of 4,451 schools (in 1865) were in receipt of annual grants and were thus subject to the regulation of the centre.

In order to give a satisfactory comparison with the situation after 1872, I have decided to concentrate on the picture after 1864, the year of the New Code which imposed on Scottish education a modified form of payment by results. It must at once be admitted that there was some government control before this. Schools which took advantage of the Minute of 1846 to employ pupil teachers were subject to inspection and to some control over their affairs by the centre. The same applied to the many schools built after 1840 with government aid. However, the rationale of school inspection before 1872 was on the face of it more liberal than that which came after that date. In 1861, HMI Mr. Middleton wrote:

There is no such thing as normal school method or inspection method ... inspectors are far from being unanimous on school methods. They have the best opportunity of studying this science. Each observes for himself, and recommends the methods he sees productive of the best results. It is in this way, and not by the invention or dictation of methods, that inspection has done good service in public education.⁶

⁶ PP 1862 XLII Middleton p. 220.

In general, this was in keeping with other central undertakings at this time - for example, public health regulations were permissive rather than mandatory. This bare minimum of central interference was acceptable while the burden on the Exchequer was light. Once more and more local bodies took advantage of central finance, and once the extra financial burden of the Crimean War was laid on the Exchequer, it was not surprising that the attitudes of some of those in central authority should change. The result was the Newcastle Commission on English education, followed, with the advent of Lingen as Secretary to the Committee of the Privy Council on Education, by the Revised Code of 1861. Scotland's turn came in 1864 with the New Code. The rigours of payment by results were modified, however, owing to the outcry which greeted what many Scots considered to be an attack on the whole basis of Scottish education - the easy path from school to university for all those who were sufficiently talented. Grants were to have been paid only for elementary instruction, thus attacking what advanced education there was in the parochial and other schools. What sensible dominie would teach his few bright lads Latin, when grants were to be earned only from the 3R's? The lad o' pairts may have been a myth, but he had a strong hold on the imagination of many Scots.

In 1865, then, the situation was as follows, allowing for inevitable regional and local variations. The localities paid the bulk of teachers' salaries, and in some cases also provided a house and garden. They had also, after the Minute of 1840, raised the required half of the necessary finance for building the new schools and were in cases as late as 1874 still paying off the interest on the local loans they had raised.⁷ This was the

⁷ PP 1875 XXVI Report of Board of Education p. xi.

more serious in Scotland, since school boards could only take over, and not buy, discontinued voluntary schools, unlike the English position. Government aid took the form of the building grants - see footnote⁸ - and prior to 1864, augmentation for teachers and pupil teachers, dependent on an efficient standard of education being reached.⁹ The extra money went to the teacher, as augmentation to his salary, and not to the manager, to help with the general upkeep of the school. The grant was estimated on the general appearance of the class, and not, as in England, on individual examination. The compromise reached over the New Code had taken book grants from the schools, a course criticised by Dr. Woodford; (the ending of the book grant meant the end of the supply of cheap books, obtained through the grant, to the needy);¹⁰ it had also changed the form of estimating an efficiently taught school. An efficient school was one in which all the children learned all the 3R's, which, from what Kerr wrote in 1865, appeared novel in certain areas of Scotland:

In some of the more northern parts of my district parents object to writing and arithmetic being taught to very young children, and refuse to supply them with the materials. I did not hesitate to recommend the teachers to refuse admission to all such, as probably the best cure for this.¹¹

The New Code meant that children were examined individually, but the school got its grant on the Code of 1860 - augmentation. However, this was now paid to the managers, and not directly to the teacher, as an increase in his salary. Even pupil teachers were now indentured to the school managers, and not to the teachers as was previously the case. In some ways, Scotland

⁸ PP 1873 XXIV Committee of Council p. ccvi Table: Schoolhouses built with Parliamentary aid, 1839-1872.

	Church of Sc.	Free Ch. & Non C of S.	Episc.	R.C.
Institutions	234	167	6	5
Residences	125	101	7	2
Enlarged or Improved	65	56	3	-

⁹ Code of 1860 Sects. 19, 21, 37, 45, 52, 62. ¹⁰ PP 1864 XLV Woodford p. 250

got the worst of both worlds - she did not get the capitation grant that English schools got, but she was examined in the 3R's just like her southern neighbour. On the other hand, the inspectors could still take into account the quality of advanced subjects taught, like Latin or mathematics, and the rigours of Supplementary Rule 10, which confined government grants to the children of "the classes who support themselves by manual labour",¹² did not apply in Scotland. The compromise may have been unsatisfactory, but it does suggest that the centre was sensitive, up to a point, to opinion on the periphery.

However, while there was apparently some central tenderness for local feelings, it may be argued that the change in the destination of the financial augmentation - to the managers instead of largely direct to the teachers - is symptomatic of a tendency to tighten central control of local administration of education. When money went to the managers for the day-to-day running of the school (as opposed to building grants), the emphasis insensibly turned to finances and administrative improvements rather than to advances in class-work and teaching performance. Little wonder, perhaps, that there was increasing emphasis on instruction on the 3R's and less on advanced education. The former was less difficult to organise. This unstated assumption coloured much of the post 1872 educational world and began to influence the years prior to that date. Managers meeting only occasionally were more open to central suggestions, than teachers heavily involved in the actual classroom.

Section 2. School Boards and the Scotch Education Department.

On the face of it, it would appear that one of the most important aspects of Young's Act was the placing of authority in the hands of an

¹² Code of 1864 Sect. 4.

elected local school board. The penalty for local control was local finance - from the rates. As was shown above, local finance, though not from the rates, was nothing new. However, the addition of a compulsory clause meant that every school district was now responsible for the education of every child living there. This was different both in quantity and in quality from the previous situation. In the first place, the only legal requirement on each parish before 1872 had been to provide one school. Side by side with the parish school existed, as often as not, a Free Church school, perhaps a subscription school, and almost certainly, one or more adventure schools. Some of the last group still existed after the Act, though they did disappear gradually as the '70's came to an end.¹³ Local parents saw that they offered an inferior type of education for much the same cost in fees as the board schools. Indeed, in a few cases, the board schools deliberately undercut the fees charged by adventure schools, in order to put them out of business. HMI Mr. Smith suggested¹⁴ "the temporary maintenance of a rival school" to destroy an adventure school. A certain number of denominational and subscription schools also remained; by 1900, most of these were Roman Catholic, the others having found the struggle for finance too rigorous. Each year after 1872, the General Assemblies of the Free and Established Churches found their income for educational purposes dwindling. In 1874, the Convener of the Church of Scotland Education Committee told the Assembly that appeals for money were being ignored in the parishes, and that collections for this purpose were only worth £3,308 17s 10d, as opposed to £4,196 14s 2d, the previous year.¹⁵ In 1876 Dr. Begg of the Free Kirk criticised the level of congregational contribution - at £1,635 6s 6d, it was £631 12s 2d less than in the previous year.¹⁶ This was reflected in the numbers of schools in the

¹³ PP 1879 XXV Day, p. 148.

¹⁴ PP 1880 XXIV Smith p. 158.

¹⁵ Scotsman 26/5/1874.

¹⁶ Ibid 27/5/1876.

educational schemes operated by the two large Presbyterian churches. In 1873, there were 302 in the Established Church scheme; by 1876 there were only 42 left.¹⁷ As early as 1874, the Free Kirk had only 127 schools under the Deacons' Courts; in 1872, there had been 548.¹⁸ It soon became obvious to most parents that they were as well to send their children to the new public schools, for which they were rated, rather than continue to pay for the upkeep of non-public schools. Only enthusiasm and rigid adherence to principle kept the Roman Catholic schools in existence, and even increased their numbers.

It was not government policy to discriminate against non-public schools. Indeed, the government leant over backwards to ensure that the public schools were not imposed on an unwilling section of parents. Parochial boards were empowered, without the stigma of pauperism, to pay for the education of those children whose parents could not afford school fees. It was explicitly stated that in such cases,¹⁹ the parents had freedom of choice as to the school their children should attend; aided denominational schools were just as acceptable as public schools. In 1875-6, the parochial boards paid the fees of 8,659 children at public schools; 1,872 children at Church of Scotland schools; 418 children at Free Kirk schools; 118 at Episcopal Church schools; and 767 at Roman Catholic schools.²⁰ This provision appears to have worked; the main fault of the parochial boards according to the Department was not that they tyrannically ordered parents to send their children to a public school rather than the school of their choice, but that they were loath to pay the fees of any children at any school. The very fact that the parochial boards had a part to play in education is an illustration of the change in scale where education was concerned.

¹⁷ Ibid 29/5/1873; 23/5/1876.

¹⁸ Ibid 29/5/1874.

¹⁹ Education (Scotland) Act 1872 Clause 69.

²⁰ PP 1876 XXV, Committee of Council p. viii.

So far as can be ascertained from the records of the 25 school boards studied in detail, there was no trouble between the parochial and school boards over fee payments. At the outset, school boards were told clearly of the responsibility of the parochial board with regard to school fee payments for non-pauper children.²¹ In St. Quivox, three parents were referred to the parochial board for help with school fees, and warned that they would be prosecuted if there were any further arrears.²² Apparently the parochial board responded favourably to this, for there were no records of any conflicts over this. One reason for the general lack of friction between school and parochial boards seems to have been because a number of school boards had voluntary schemes which dealt with school fee payments for non-pauper children. In Hawick in April 1873, it was agreed that the parochial board would pay the school board 2¹/₂d a week for the education of each of fourteen pauper children, but that others in need would be educated free by voluntary subscription.²³ Rather like Hawick, Kelso benefitted from three bequests - Frater's, Douglas's, and Eaton's - to the annual sum of £69 7s 6d, which were used for free education.²⁴ Where school boards did not operate such schemes parents were referred to the parochial board for help with school fees. From the records, it seems that defaulters often gave as an excuse for the non-attendance of their children, inability to pay fees. This was the case in St. Boswells²⁵ and Kirkoswald.²⁶ In each case the parochial board apparently paid the fees without question, for there are no further reports of the children of these parents being in default. However, in Kirkoswald was found a single instance of the parochial board refusing to pay the school fees of an applicant. A widow whose children were persistent defaulters in

²¹ ACC Dregghorn SB Minutes 18/10/1873. ²² ACC St. Quivox SB Minutes 4/5/1874.

²³ RCC Hawick SB Committee Minutes 7/7/1873.

²⁴ RCC Kelso SB Minutes 8/9/1886.

²⁵ RCC St. Boswell SB Minutes 8/6/1875. ²⁶ ACC Kirkoswald SB Minutes 3/4/1886.

attendance was told by the school board to apply to the parochial board for help with school fees. When the latter board refused help, the school board prosecuted the widow for the non-attendance of her children.²⁷ On the face of it, this seems a case of rank injustice which the central authority would oppose - two authoritarian local boards combining against a helpless widow. Furthermore Kirkoswald school board, from its own minutes, had hardly a shining record of enthusiasm for local education. However, since other applicants to the parochial board for aid with school fees were satisfied, it may tentatively be suggested that the widow was either an unfortunate but isolated victim of injustice, or was merely trying to explain away the persistently poor attendance of her children. Be that as it may, her unfortunate case did not put the parochial and school boards at loggerheads. Indeed, the only instances found of mild disagreement between the boards were not over the payment of fees for non-pauper children, but over the mechanics of collecting the school rate. The parochial collector was responsible for the school as well as the poor rate. In August 1884, Creich school board complained that £25 of the school rate for 1882-3 still remained unpaid.²⁸ In 1891 in Kirkhill, the school board was at fault in its delayed sending of information about the level of the new school rate to the parochial board - this meant difficulties for the collector who normally levied both school and parochial rates at the one time.²⁹ In Old Cumnock, on the other hand, relations between the two boards were so cordial, that the parochial board was permitted the use of the front room of the new school for rates collection.³⁰ So far as can be ascertained, relations between school and parochial boards

²⁷ Ibid 17/2/1877; 28/4/1877; 26/5/1877. ²⁸ SCC Creich SB Minutes 15/8/1884.

²⁹ ICC Kirkhill SB Minutes 5/10/1891.

³⁰ ACC Old Cumnock SB Minutes 13/11/1884.

were not bedevilled by conflict over the school fee payments for non-pauper children. Glasgow school board apparently found the existing situation satisfactory, for it recorded its dissent to Mundella's proposal that the school boards should be responsible for the fees of poor pupils.³¹ Perhaps it is surprising that there was so little friction over this matter. Local boards were notoriously reluctant to take on further financial commitments. Perhaps in this case, they were not asked to. Mention has already been made of local endowments or voluntary subscriptions which paid for the education of poor children. From other evidence in school board minutes, particularly the difficulties of teachers receiving part of their salaries in the form of school fees, it seems that parents often simply did not bother to pay school fees, whether or not they could have obtained them from the parochial board. The high level of school fees in arrears in some school boards gives credence to their suggestion. In Creich in 1885, 82 children out of a total of 198 in average attendance owed a total of about £60 in fees.³² In Dreghorn in 1887, arrears totalled £287 16s.³³ Perhaps it was inactivity on the part of the parents, rather than cordial relations between school and parochial boards, which accounted for the lack of friction over school fee payments for non-pauper children.

All of the 985 (in 1877) school districts were expected by law to provide accommodation and teachers for all the children in the district who wished to take advantage of it. The building of additional school accommodation did not always keep pace with demand, however. There were a number of reasons for this. In some cases, denominational or other

³¹ GCA Glasgow SB Committee Minutes 31/5/1883.

³² SCC Creich SB Minutes 21/3/1885.

³³ ACC Dreghorn SB Minutes 5/1/1887.

schools which the school board had expected would provide accommodation closed down with little warning, or transferred their often defective buildings to the school board.³⁴

	Schools Transferred			
	Sutherland	Ayrshire	Glasgow	Roxburghshire
Schools	5	34	5	5
Parishes	3	23	-	5
Subscr.	-	14	1	1
FC	5	6	3	-
Sess.	-	2	-	-
UP	-	1	-	-
Charity	-	2	-	-
C of S	-	1	-	-
Gen.Ass.	-	1	1	-
Burgh	-	-	1	-
Heritors' Girls	-	-	-	2
Indep.	-	-	-	1
Other	-	7	-	1

School boards viewed this tendency with some dismay and even, in Glasgow, with alarm. J.A. Campbell, a businessman and member of Glasgow's first school board, addressed himself thus to the managers of good voluntary schools:

Don't be in a hurry to transfer your schools, for the School board will have quite enough to do in the meantime with the new schools which are needed.³⁵

The managers did not listen, however, and by 1878, 65 schools had been given up by the churches in Glasgow.³⁶ Other school boards faced similar difficulties. In St. Quivox, Whitletts Feuars Subscription School was transferred to the school board, but this proved to be a mixed blessing, for in 1881 the inspector deducted money from the grant because of the "indifferent premises" of this school - the lighting was bad, there was no classroom, and accommodation was insufficient for those in average attendance.³⁷ In the

³⁴ PP 1875 XXVI Board of Education Appendix, Table IV.

³⁵ Cited in J.M. Roxburgh: The School Board of Glasgow 1872-1919 (1971) p. 57 - from the Glasgow Herald 22/3/1873.

³⁶ Ibid p. 59.

³⁷ ACC St. Quivox SB Minutes 12/7/1873; 26/2/1881.

same county, in Symington, the Deacon's Board was apparently willing to hand over the Free Church School to the school board, but the board was divided about the worth of the gift - HMI Mr. Hall said it could not be recognised as efficient since it had no playground or proper privies.³⁸ Some gifts were hardly worth having.

Clearly, one of the reasons why the churches were willing to hand over their schools was that it would take too much cash to bring the accommodation up to a high enough standard to earn a grant. Even where voluntary schools could get grants, as in Lady Elliot's school at Wolfelee in Hobkirk, the undertakers were unwilling to continue with them, partly because of dwindling attendance.³⁹ Shortage of money seems, however, to have been the main reason for the discontinuation of voluntary and denominational schools after 1872. The difficulties in maintaining Free and Established Church congregational giving for this purpose have already been mentioned. Indeed, the Free Kirk was compelled to reduce the grant it paid to pre-disruption teachers, for whom Free Kirk schools had been founded in the first instance.⁴⁰ One question which should be posed here, is where the congregational effort which had been given to education was now directed. The short answer seems to be, foreign missionary work. The Letter Books of the Church of Scotland, available in the National Library of Scotland, record a tremendous increase in this activity in the later 1870's and 1880's.

As far as ecclesiastical endowments for education were concerned, the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act brought some changes. The 1882 Educational

³⁸ ACC Symington SB Minutes 1/5/1873; 6/11/1873.

³⁹ RCC Hobkirk SB Minutes 26/3/1874; 15/2/1877.

⁴⁰ Roxburgh, *op cit* p. 59. Cited from the Free Church Monthly Record, Feb. 1873.

Endowments (Scotland) Act completed them. In Ayrshire, the Ferguson Bequest which aided non-parochial Established Church schools, Free Kirk, United Presbyterian and other Protestant Schools, was applied to university bursaries in the passing of the 1872 Act. The Dick Bequest continued to operate, but concentrated on promoting secondary education. Bursaries for higher education were offered by the SSPCK after 1872, although it still continued to aid Highland parishes with very scattered population, like Creich. After the Educational Endowments Act of 1882, some school boards seem to have operated former ecclesiastical educational endowments either to help the needy with free education, or to give bursaries for secondary education. In the school board records examined in detail, this was what happened in Old Cumnock, Hawick, Kelso, Glasgow and Dalmellington. In St. Quivox we see what happened to many ecclesiastical endowments. In 1872, with the coming of the school board, the mortification of St. Quivox, coming from Auchincruive Barony, was applied to the schoolmaster's salary.⁴¹ What caused the apparent disappearance of so many ecclesiastical educational endowments after 1872, was that many had been applied, prior to this date, to the augmentation of schoolmasters' salaries. The Dick Bequest had been similarly applied. After 1872, the Trustees continued to operate the same terms of the Bequest. It seems that only deliberate action on the part of non-school board trustees could preserve, separately, endowments given for this purpose. Presumably, in many cases the income derived from mortification was so low by 1872 (the St. Quivox mortification had been founded in 1672) that it was hardly worth going to the expense involved in changing the terms.

Where mortifications existed for the behoof of the education of poor

⁴¹ ACC St. Quivox SB Minutes 16/1/1883.

children, as was the case in Dalmellington with the Gaa Fund, the school boards continued to apply the terms of the bequests. In Ancrum in 1874, the terms of Craig's Bequest still allowed the local Church of Scotland minister the right to nominate a certain number of poor children for free education.⁴² In 1887, this Bequest came under the administration of the school board, which used it to provide education for four poor children in 1889.⁴³ With free education, this Bequest was applied to supplying free books and stationary for deserving cases.⁴⁴ The same school board benefitted from Hamilton's Mortification for the teaching of singing. In 1880 this was applied to the salary of a female assistant teacher, who taught the subject, and after 1882 no mention is made of the Mortification.⁴⁵ The St. Quivox and Ancrum examples show what happened to these various ecclesiastical educational endowments once the 1872 Act was passed. Where they were applied for salary purposes, they were applied thus also by the boards. Where aid to poor children was concerned, the bequests and mortifications continued to be so applied. In the latter case, records became more copious after 1882. Presumably, as at Ancrum, a number of these mortifications remained in ecclesiastical hands after the 1872 Act and were not administered by the school boards until the 1882 Educational Endowments Act. One thing is clear from the school board minute books. The school boards kept faithfully to the terms of the original endowments. From the evidence available, the 1872 Educational (Scotland) Act, and the 1882 Educational Endowments Act did not mean the squandering of former ecclesiastical educational endowments by the school boards.

Quite apart from the problems raised by unexpectedly transferred schools, there were also difficulties in getting sites, and , in the

⁴² RCC Ancrum SB Minutes 14/3/1874.

⁴³ Ibid 7/7/1887; 26/3/1889.

⁴⁴ Ibid 30/8/1889.

⁴⁵ Ibid 5/2/1879; 13/2/1880; 13/1/1882.

Highlands and Islands, tenders for buildings.⁴⁶ Ancrum school board was faced with difficulties over the site for its new school at Sandystone. Sir George Douglas who owned the land insisted that the school be shielded with trees, which the school board was unwilling to do.⁴⁷ Later, St. Quivox school board faced difficulties when it wished to extend Whitletts School. The proprietor of the necessary land was "unwilling to sell at any price".⁴⁸ The matter dragged on for eighteen months before the owner eventually agreed to sell.⁴⁹ In general, the Board of Education did not coerce areas where there were special difficulties. Shetland needed fifty new schools, but by 1877, only ten had been built, owing to difficulties to do with the remoteness, the lack of roads, and the frequent storms.⁵⁰ On the other hand, where it seemed that the school board was shirking its responsibilities, the centre had recourse to legal sanctions.⁵¹ In less serious cases, where a school board was willing to improve school accommodation, but not to the level demanded by the Board of Education, a stiff letter sufficed. Ancrum was forced by the Board to provide sufficient accommodation for 90 more children than the local board had estimated. That was the purpose of the new school at Sandystone.⁵² The conflict over numbers between the Board of Education and Old Cumnock school board has already been discussed in detail. Suffice

⁴⁶ PP 1876 XXV Board of Education p. vii.

⁴⁷ RCC Ancrum SB Minute 13/6/1877.

⁴⁸ AOC St. Quivox SB Minutes 6/6/1882.

⁴⁹ Ibid 25/12/1883.

⁵⁰ PP 1877 XXXII Board of Education p. viii.

⁵¹ PP 1878-9 XXV Board of Education p. 5, St. Fergus and Stair.

⁵² RCC Ancrum SB Minutes 14/3/1874; 6/2/1875; 28/5/1877.

to say that the local board eventually acceded to the demand from the centre.⁵³ In cases where the people of the districts failed to hold elections for school boards, the Board of Education could nominate people to serve on the school boards of these negligent districts.⁵⁴

In some areas, the fact that education was now compulsory imposed a heavy burden. They could no longer expect to get help from central ecclesiastical authorities to make up for the poverty of the parish. This help had never been very effective in any case, but the running down of what aid there was, meant that boards in poorer areas had to rely even more on help from the centre. The government had recognised the special difficulties of large parishes with a scattered population in the 1838 Act which gave a salary of £35 per annum to masters of Highland parliamentary schools. By 1872, however, the stocks for salaries were inadequate and were therefore cancelled. As result, Day says that about 30 schools became permanently endowed by the State.⁵⁵ The money came in half-yearly instalments ranging from £20 per annum for Kinlochspelve, to £34 for Poolewe. Further aid was given by the Code of 1876, which gave school boards with less than 300 inhabitants within three miles of a public or State-aided school an extra £10 per annum. If there were less than 200 inhabitants in the area, the grant rose to £15 per annum.⁵⁶ In some parishes in the Highlands and Islands, school provision never had been very good and the burden of supplying effective education was both novel and unwelcome. One Orcadian parish did not even have a parish school.⁵⁷ The government was not entirely deaf to their cries for help, however. In 1878, the government offered extra help to the five

⁵³ ACC Old Cumnock SB Minutes 9/4/1874.

⁵⁴ PP 1876 XXV Board of Education pp. 3-12. There were 13 such boards, including Ayr (Landward).

⁵⁵ J.P. Day: Public Administration in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland (1918) p. 156.

⁵⁶ Code of 1876, Article 19D.

⁵⁷ PP 1867 XXVI Registrars of Births, Deaths & Marriages Walls and Flotta.

Highland and Island counties - Inverness, Argyll, Ross, Orkney and Shetland. Initially, Sutherland was not included, and this resulted in a delay in school building there, since the people hoped they too would share in the more generous building grants and the extra attendance grant offered to the other Highland counties.⁵⁸ The central authority ensured that this extra money was used to good purpose by insisting that local boards show an earnest of their intentions. Creich school board was refused a loan by the SED until they pledged £12 towards a new school at Glen Cassley.⁵⁹

An additional difficulty arose in these Highland areas when it was intended to transfer schools to the school boards. No payment was allowed for schools which were supported by congregational effort, (though this was permitted in England), and in cases where a proprietor owned a school himself. To make matters worse, the school board was not allowed to pay the debts of a school which had been contracted before the transfer,⁶⁰ again unlike the English position. The Highland area had a low rateable value and thus debts incurred earlier in the century were difficult to throw off. In some cases there was truth in the Established Church gibe that the Free Church favoured Young's Act because it could no longer afford to support its own schools; the fact that the Free Church had few endowments was conveniently forgotten. In one or two parishes, feeling was so embittered that the wrangles resulted in law suits. Clyne was a particularly flagrant example of this, but even in Lowland Muirkirk, a law suit was threatened.⁶¹ Usually, it was the policy of the centre to remain impartial on such occasions. At the same time, resorts to the law which resulted in a charge on the rates, apart from

⁵⁸ PP 1877 XXXIII Board of Education p. viii.

⁵⁹ SCC Creich SB Minutes 13/1/1880; 13/4/1880.

⁶⁰ PP 1878 XXX Board of Education pp. xi and xii.

⁶¹ ACC Muirkirk SB Minutes 25/11/1878.

prosecutions of poor attenders, were actively discouraged. Such legal wrangles had to be paid for from the pockets of the school board members concerned.⁶² It might be thought that that was an arbitrary way of imposing unity on the local areas. On the other hand, this firm attitude probably prevented the large scale occurrence of such unseamly personal and sectarian wrangles as that which bedevilled the Clyne school board. School board members could still pursue personal vendettas if they wished; the central authority ensured that they did so at their own expense.

So far, we have dealt with the broad control exercised by the centre over the localities. What was the relation between the financial contribution of the centre and that of the localities? What conclusions may be drawn from the percentage variations? Was the financial contribution of the centre the controlling factor, or could a sufficiently determined school board go its own way? The Fifth, Fifteenth, and Twenty Fifth Reports of the Accountant have been used for the purposes of comparison. They cover the years 1876-77, 1886-7 and 1896-7.

	1876-7	1886-7	1896-7*
Income (to nearest £)	£1,317,122	£1,426,905	£2,290,959
Expenditure (")	£1,456,026	£1,406,044	£2,241,723
% Income: Fees	12.35%	18.21%	13.88%
All Grants	25.09%	27.40%	29.18%
Rate	24.92%	34.09%	34.74%
Range of Rates	½d - 2s	1d - 3s	1d - 3s½d
	(excl. N. Uist, 3s)	(excl. Barra, 3/4; Lochs, 4/6; Barvas, 5/4)	

* (excluding County, and Secondary and Technical Grants)

Between the Fifth and the Fifteenth Report, both income and expenditure remained fairly steady, though there was a small increase. It should be noted

⁶² PP 1878 XXXI Fourth Report of the Accountant (to the Board of Education) p. viii (after 1879, sends Reports to the SED).

that it was only in the Fifth Report that expenditure exceeded income; the reason for this was the necessity of building new schools to provide accommodation. By 1879, this area of school board expenditure came to a close; it remained only to pay off the loans to the Public Works Loan Commission (not to the SED). Sometimes the amount outstanding could be substantial. Dalrymple school board borrowed £1,1800 from the PWLC over 50 years.⁶³ £4,000 was borrowed over 40 years by Old Cumnock school board.⁶⁴ Sums like this meant that some school board rates were heavily burdened for years with loan charges. In Glasgow in 1884, 3½d of the 5d rate went on interest charges.⁶⁵ Debt was one reason for high school rates even in populous areas. As might be expected, both income and expenditure rose sharply between the Fifteenth and Twenty Fifth Reports; the expansion of Standard and Specific Subjects, the increased attendance grants and the more rigorous standards of accommodation made this inevitable. What is interesting is the marked rise in fees between the Fifth and Fifteenth Report; it must be assumed that more regular attendance helped here, though possibly the 1878 Act forcing the parochial boards to fulfil their obligations also had some bearing in this field. In 1878, the parochial boards paid the fees of 6,177 non-pauper children, while by 1882, the school fees of 14,767 such children were paid by the parochial boards.⁶⁶ The steady rise in the grants earned reflected, perhaps, as suggested earlier,⁶⁷ the acceptance and

⁶³ ACC Dalrymple SB Minutes 2/10/1875. ⁶⁴ ACC Old Cumnock SB Minutes 24/12/1874.

⁶⁵ Roxburgh, *op cit* p. 150. Cited from the Report of Select Committee on School Board Elections - Kirkcaldy.

⁶⁶ PP 1878-9, XXV, Committee of Council p. xii; PP 1883, XXVI, Committee of Council p. xx.

⁶⁷ PP 1883 XXVI Smith p. 170.

familiarity of teachers of inspection. A far more certain reason was the increasing portion of the grant given for more than elementary instruction. Grants for history, geography, grammar and intelligence were fairly easily earned, while the numbers studying specific subjects, earning 4s per pass, rocketed in the later 1870's and early 1880's.⁶⁸ The increased grant also mirrors the declining numbers who were individually examined and, therefore, the lower risk of failure. This was particularly the case between the Fifteenth and Twenty-Fifth Reports. The increased percentage of income provided by the school rate between the Fifth and Fifteenth Reports was reflected in the greater range of rates. Even a fairly homogeneous county like Roxburgh showed surprising rate variations. The 1886 rate varied from 3d in the £ for Hobkirk, to 12d in the £ at Bedrule.⁶⁹ This variation is all the more surprising when it is realised that these parishes were contiguous, and that neither had undertaken any new school building, but had only extended existing premises. The clue to this apparent discrepancy is to be found in comparing the rateable values; that of Hobkirk was nearly three times the Bedrule figure - from £10,875 to £3,944. Very similar alterations - the erection of a partition between the boys' and girls' lavatories, for example, cost more in terms of rateable value in Bedrule than in Hobkirk. The variation also shows the difficulties which very small boards like Bedrule, with a population of 269, faced in complying with central authority requirements. The difficulties of Uist school boards were mirrored in their marked divergence from the average range.

It will be noted that the percentage contributed by the centre in the form of grants, remained fairly steady, and that local contributions in fees (excluding those in the Twenty Fifth Report) and rates always exceeded

⁶⁸ PP 1878-9, XXV, Committee of Council p. xvi - 33,777 studied these subjects; PP 1884-5, XXVI, Committee of Council p. xviii - 45,689 studied English alone, while Domestic Economy was studied by 26,830.

⁶⁹ School rates taken from SB Minutes.

this. The overall variations in the rate remained in the 1890's, but in Roxburgh at least the gap had narrowed. Bedrule and Hobkirk were now the lowest, at 4d in the £, compared with 7½d in the £ in Lilliesleaf.⁷⁰ Presumably, once necessary alterations had been paid for, the rate for general administration remained fairly stable. The high Lilliesleaf rate seems attributable to the 1895 opening of an extension to the school.⁷¹ This suggests that the financial power of the central authority was not so strong as might be expected. In the 1890's, some school boards illustrated this, by banding together in an Association of School Boards and attempting to put forward joint suggestions to the SED. Resolutions in 1898 included demands that all grants should be exclusively for education; that education should be compulsory to Standard VI; and that there should be payment on account on school grants.⁷² The second resolution was of educational and financial value - Specific Subjects earned high grants. The third resolution was an attempt to ensure that the boards no longer had to function on expensive bank loans for most of the year. The SED did not look kindly on this effort at combination. It did not totally forbid such action, but, by insisting that the expenses for such meetings should come out of the pockets of school board members, and were not chargeable to the rates, it managed to hamper the movement. It was noticeable that in 1896-7, apart from Peterhead, and Inverness (Landward), there were no claims for such expenses from north of the Highland line.⁷³ Presumably the boards behind the line felt that they were well off under the present system - and a comparison of the school rate

⁷⁰ PP 1897, LXXI, Roxburgh education statistics.

⁷¹ RCC Lilliesleaf SB Minutes 4/5/1895.

⁷² RCC Hawick Burgh SB Minutes, 22/3/98.

⁷³ PP 1898 XXIX Report of Accountant p. xv, 23 claims.

for insular Ross in the Fifteenth and Twenty Fifth Reports showed this all too clearly.⁷⁴ The island rates fell so sharply mainly because of a massive government effort both to give cash where it was needed, and to see that attendance was improved to such an extreme that grant aid would be a meaningful rather than a derisory sum. The money came from the 1888 Probate Duties (Scotland and Ireland) Act which allowed a grant of 5s (instead of 4s) per scholar in average attendance in the Highland and Island area. Average attendance between 1888 and 1892 rose 41% in Skye; 26% in Lewis; and 12% in Harris, South Uist and Barra.⁷⁵ Thirteen school boards in particular financial difficulties were dealt with under Section 22 of the 1872 Act - three managers, of whom one was the HMI, were put in charge of local education. Severe local problems demanded drastic government action. However, it should not be forgotten that insular boards had been in financial difficulties throughout the 1880's. It was only when local political unrest reached a peak that the central government acted. Once again it was a case of the centre reacting to local stimulus.

So far, the general financial situation has been examined. What was the local position? The 1881 Accounts for Dalmellington Public School in Ayrshire have been chosen for two reasons. Firstly, the big cut in the salaries of teachers did not come till after this date. Secondly, the occupations of the people were mixed. They varied from upland stock-rearing, some dairy-farming, mining and iron smelting.

Schedule of Grants. 21/12/81.

On Average Attendance	155 @ 6s6d *	£50 7s 6d
On Infants Presented	31 @ 8s	£12 8s -
On Standards Presented	322 @ 3s	£48 6s -
On Classes Presented	115 @ 4s	£23 - -
On Specific Subjects:		

⁷⁴ From 28.4d in £ at the earlier Report, to 7.87d in £ in later.

⁷⁵ Day, op cit pp. 161-2.

English Literature	28		
Mathematics	8		
Domestic Economy	<u>9</u>		
	45 @ 4s	£ 9	- -
Pupil Teacher		<u>£ 3</u>	- -
		<u>£146 1s 6d</u>	

Standards (Passes): 98.47% of those presented.

Grants per child in average attendance: 18s 10d or 20s on those presented.

* Calculated: Attendance - 4s; Organisation and Discipline - 1s 6d;
Singing - 1s.

It will be noticed that one-third of the total grant is for average attendance, and so it may be suggested that central control of the individual school was weaker than might be supposed. If so much of the grant depended on attendance, then the representative of the centre - the HMI of Schools - though obviously very influential, was not completely omnipotent in determining the grant for any particular school. Furthermore, the amount earned for attendance rose from 4s to 10s, as shown by the Codes of 1889 and 1890 respectively. A higher attendance grant did not, of course, mean that school boards were automatically that much more independent of the centre - after all, it was the Department which was providing the grant. There was, however, a more relaxed attitude to the HMI on the part of board and teacher in the 1890's. The ending of payment by the results of individual examination had much to do with this. In the early 1880's, however, these less stiff relations were in the future.

The importance which the school board attached to the visit of the HMI may be seen in the fact that the money paid out, at least to teachers, is recorded eight days later on 29/12/81 - or, in other words, once the HMI of Schools had presented his Report. The inspector was clearly a man with

financial as well as educational power. The dependence of the local board on central finance can be seen in the payment of outstanding Accounts after the inspector's visit. There may have been a certain degree of freedom from central control, but in the long run the centre held a financial whip hand. To some extent, even the level of teachers' salaries depended on the decision of a central official. On the other hand, it should not be forgotten that payment by the results of individual examination of the scholars was the most usual method of calculating teachers' salaries. Dalmellington was not unique in this practice.

The Account follows:

R.M. Cameron		for Stationery	£ 5. 3s 10d
Charles G. Shaw		" Feu Duty	£ 12. 6s 2d
W. Gibson		" Repairing Gate	£ 0. 7s 0d
A. Stewart	Officer	Salary	£ 1. 18s 0d
W. Gass	"	"	£ 1. 18s 0d
J. McKnight	Pupil Teacher	"	£ 10. 4s 0d
W.G. Galloway	" "	"	£ 10. 0s 0d
Charlotte Urie	Female Assistant Teacher	"	£ 44. 18s 6d
James Bell	Head Teacher	"	£194. 16s 3d
			<hr/>
			£281. 11s 9d

School rate (2/6/81): £370, or 4½d in £.

It may be doubted if Dalmellington was generous enough to its female teacher - the average salary for a certificated female teacher in 1881 was £69. 4s 3d. The head teacher was rather better treated - the average male salary was £137. 5s 7d.⁷⁶ On the other hand, these figures are not strictly comparable, because the figures in each case for 1881 include both principal and assistant teachers. It seems likely that the Dalmellington figure was about average. As we saw in Chapter 3, however, this school board made very drastic reductions in its teachers' salaries just after these years, which suggests

⁷⁶ PP 1882 XXV, Committee of Council p. xx.

that the members at least thought they were being over generous with the existing salary scale.

Where the actual grant earned per child in average attendance was concerned, it seems that Dalmellington was above the average for the whole of Scotland in 1881: 17s 6½d.⁷⁷ In 1881-2, the Glasgow figures show a variation of 22s 9½d grant earned per scholar (Greenside Street school) to 12s 9½d at Shields Road School.⁷⁸ It may be concluded that Dalmellington school had a fairly high educational standard, even if it did not present very many pupils - Greenside Street had 818 pupils; Shields Road had 175 - or offer a very varied range of Specific Subjects.

Both the aggregate and individual balance sheets suggest that the localities were responsible for a much larger portion of the necessary finance for education than might at first be expected. Students of government suggest that the nineteenth century was a period of increasing State control of the localities. Hence public health legislation at its inception was permissive; by the '70's it was mandatory. Education followed the same pattern. The government aided the denominational effort and then decided to mount a national campaign for basic literacy, enforceable by law. The eventual success of this campaign in Scotland is not in dispute. What is in question is how this theory of growing central interference in education worked in practice. We have already seen how many school boards evaded their duty to enforce the compulsory clause and noted also the length of time it took the government to ensure that this obligation was fulfilled. How did the centre use its financial power - or, indeed, did it - to force compliance with its regulations?

The most obvious weapon was, of course, the power to reduce the

⁷⁷ PP 1882 XXV Committee of Council p. viii.

⁷⁸ GCA Glasgow SB Minutes (Aggregate).

government grant, given in theory for attendance and educational achievement, for faults of accommodation. Secondly, the Accountant to the SED (till 1879, to the Board of Education) scrutinised all school board accounts and could refuse to pass those payments he considered unnecessary - like subscriptions to the Association of School Boards - or dishonest - like grossly inflated fees to local law agents. What sanctions, however, did the Department have against a thoroughly unco-operative school board like that of Clyne in Sutherland?

In 1876, the Board of Education refused the Clyne board permission to build a second school at West Clyne.⁷⁹ The reasons were twofold. Firstly, there was a perfectly adequate school already (the old parochial school), and secondly, Morris Myron, the 'old parochial' teacher was an efficient instructor.⁸⁰ The root of the trouble was sectarian rivalry - the school board wanted a second school so that their protege, the Free Churchman Baillie, could be principal teacher. Free Church parents kept their children away from the public school (Myron's) and sent them to one they opened themselves.⁸¹ In the previous year, the board tried to remove Myron from his post in one of the few possible ways - they prosecuted him for immoral conduct, drunkenness, cursing and swearing, adultery and fornication. On all charges he was acquitted and awarded damages for defamation⁸² against the board by the Sheriff at Dornoch.

The Board of Education demanded that these obviously fabricated charges against Myron be wiped from the record, but met with a blank refusal. In 1879, the Clyne board went into the attack against the SED with a complaint concerning the championing of a minority by the latter,⁸³ They

⁷⁹ SCC Clyne SB Minutes 15/12/76.

⁸⁰ Ibid 16/5/79.

⁸¹ Ibid 17/4/77.

⁸² Ibid 19/10/76.

⁸³ Ibid 6/5/79.

were even prepared to face financial loss. In 1880, they refused to sign Myron's requisition for inspection and as a result lost the government grant.⁸⁴ The SED remonstrated with the board, but for its pains received only this stinging reply:

It appears very strange to this Board that Grants should be almost forced on them for one of their schools, and denied to others for no apparent reason (in our opinion) but that they are conducted by Free Church men. The sooner Established Church Inspectors [Sime] are removed from this part, the better for the credit of all parties.⁸⁵

The Department appears to have sent an ultimatum to the board (unfortunately the records say nothing about this), for in January 1881 the board continued in its refusal to sign Myron's requisition,⁸⁶ but instead appointed four managers for his school. At least three of these - General Tod Brown, and Messrs. Peacock (factor to the Duke of Sutherland) and Laird (a farmer) - seem to have favoured the Established Church. In this way, the papers could be signed with no loss of face for the opposition on the school board, and education in the parish could continue.

In July 1882, the Clyne board renewed its attack on the SED for its championing of Myron's case. Reference was made to "this Self-Constituted Board" - the SED - and warnings were issued concerning "any fleeting visitors who are more animated by a partisan or denominational spirit than alone by truth and justice" and the "party spirit shown by the Department".⁸⁷ The "fleeting visitors" referred to were the special inspector appointed to investigate the Clyne situation, and the normal HMI, Mr. Sime. On 16th February 1883, the Clyne Board gave awful warning to the SED:

⁸⁴ Ibid 8/8/80.

⁸⁵ Ibid 14/9/80.

⁸⁶ Ibid 25/1/81.

⁸⁷ Ibid 3/7/82.

The Board will be under the necessity of bringing the destructive policy of the Department before the House of Commons as soon as the state of public business can give them the chance of being adequately heard.

The reason for this threat seems to have been that the Department had forced the local board to agree to build schools in two outlying districts - Doll and Strathbrora.⁸⁸

The saga went on into the '80's and it is clear that although in theory, the SED had overall control, local members could, if they were resourceful and determined enough, force the Department to fight a defensive action. It says little for the authority of the centre that it could censure and impede the localities only after they had acted. In the end, the Department won, but the minutes of the Clyne board suggest that this was less the result of central initiative and more due to the vigorous action of Myron, the 'old parochial'. Twice in the '80's he took the school board before the Sheriff and sued successfully for the grant lost because the board would not sign his requisition.⁸⁹ Myron remained teacher of Clyne public school till 1894, and the board immediately accepted his terms for a retirement allowance - they knew when they were beaten.⁹⁰

On the whole, if school boards were amenable to reason, the decrees of the Department would be more or less respected. On occasion, a salutary financial penalty was necessary. The SED always had power over finance with which to force the localities into line. Generally, only one demonstration of this power was necessary. When Symington school board showed signs of recalcitrance over providing suitable accommodation, the government grant for 1875 was refused. The board had been warned at the beginning of the year that this would happen if they did nothing.⁹¹ In

⁸⁸ Ibid 8/2/83.

⁸⁹ Ibid 29/1/84; 19/2/87.

⁹⁰ Ibid 14/7/94.

⁹¹ ACC Symington SB Minutes 5/8/1875; 13/2/1875.

June 1876, matters had advanced sufficiently for the board to receive a SED building grant of £149 5s.⁹² In general, it seems that the threat to withhold all or part of the government grant if Departmental Standards were not complied with, was sufficient to obtain local obedience. On the other hand, where principle, no matter how wrong it may have been, was intruded, the SED could enforce its rulings only with difficulty. Financial and legal sanctions were not enough on their own; there had to be some co-operation too.

One last point remains to be discussed. This concerns the charges persistently made by the Press that the SED was unresponsive to public opinion in Scotland. The flexibility of Parliament in relation to the Act has already been examined in Chapter 2. Relations between the Department and public opinion are much more difficult to determine. In part, this was due to the fact that no government minister was directly responsible in Parliament for the actions of the SED. Nominally, the Prime Minister and Chancellor of the Exchequer were members of the Committee in Council, but in reality the permanent secretary to the SED was the man in charge. This lack of direct Parliamentary accountability was the source of much Scottish discontent in the years up to 1885. Accusations were made in Parliament and the Scottish press, particularly in the Scotsman, that Scottish education was subjected to bureaucratic tyranny. The ramifications of such a question are obviously immense - the tag 'Quot homines, tot sententiae' is all too applicable. For a number of reasons, I consider it unlikely that there was an outright dictatorship. That is not to say that the SED was completely guiltless of the charge of attempting to impose a

⁹² Ibid 24/6/1876.

featureless uniformity on the face of Scottish education. However, it seems unlikely that this was deliberate policy on the part of the Department.

In the first place, where the New Code of 1864 was concerned, it is clear that the Committee of Council did not expect such a storm of abuse. The very fact that it was rescinded within six weeks suggests, perhaps, a certain departmental thoughtlessness in introducing the Code at all, but no deep-laid plot to destroy specifically Scottish aspects of British education. The Code of 1873 continued this course; grants were given for Specific Subjects - advanced subjects of instruction within the primary context. The Scottish system of education was virtually countrywide - unlike the English - so some form of advanced education within the system was probably inevitable. The views of nationally-respected educationalists like HMI Dr. John Kerr were taken carefully into account. From the first, Kerr had opposed the Revised Code⁹³ and he played a considerable part, along with the Board of Education and other Scottish inspectors, in ensuring that the Code of 1873 was suited to Scottish conditions - for example each pass in the Specific Subjects earned a grant of 4s, instead of 3s as in England, in keeping with the greater Scottish emphasis on advanced instruction within the elementary schools.⁹⁴ It was clear from the various Committee of Council Reports that Scottish schoolchildren earned more in grants than their English counterparts - in 1881, the aggregate grant earned per Scottish child was 25s 3¹/₄d, as opposed to 24s 3³/₄d in England.⁹⁵

Nor did the Scottish system remain old-fashioned and lagging behind the educational needs of the country. As has already been mentioned,

⁹³ T.R. Bone: School Inspection in Scotland, 1840-1966 (1968) p. 69.

⁹⁴ Ibid pp. 76-7.

⁹⁵ PP 1882, XXV Committee of Council p. xxv. This was the aggregate and not the average grant.

there were a number of pieces of legislation between 1872 and 1900 which were designed to keep the Scottish educational system in a healthy condition. The gibe that in Scotland, the SED acted by Minute and not by legislation in Parliament, was untrue, at least up to 1900. This is not to deny that there were Minutes for Scotland, or that on occasion radical changes were introduced without the direct consent of Parliament. What is maintained is that this was no different from what happened in England. After all, the systems were administered as one. Teacher qualifications gained in any part of the UK (except Ireland) were valid throughout. F.G. Rea, who taught in the Gaelic-speaking school of Garrrynamonie in South Uist, was an Englishman, with an English certificate. It may have been thoughtless to appoint a man who spoke only an alien language to the majority of his pupils, but, after all, he had been appointed by the local school board, and not by the Department. It appears that Rea's appointment was one of the indirect fruits of the 1886 Crofters' Act, which gave security of tenure to the crofting community. Those who were qualified to vote in school board elections could now do so without fear of being evicted for displeasing the ground officer by voting for the "wrong" man. Members elected to the board could similarly act more freely. That is not to say that there was a great deal of overt intimidation prior to 1886, but more importantly, people feared that there might be. It seems unlikely that it was pure coincidence that a Roman Catholic should be appointed as headmaster after so many years. Though Rea did not speak Gaelic, he had one overwhelming advantage in the eyes of the people - he was a Roman Catholic, and the first one to "be officially appointed to a headmastership there since the Reformation."⁹⁶ The majority of the population was Catholic.

⁹⁶ F.G. Rea: A School in South Uist (1964) Introd. by J.L. Campbell, p. xiii.

It was true that the Code of 1899 substantially changed the entire historical emphasis of Scottish education. This Code took away from the elementary departments in Scottish schools their advanced subjects. On the other hand, this was part of a process which had begun in the '90's. The Leaving Certificate was at first deliberately not opened to the ordinary public schools of the country. Yet the Certificate had been demanded by some sections of Scottish university opinion for many years. Nor does it seem that there was any national objection to the new Code. School Committees in Roxburghshire were urged to adopt a more commercially orientated education not by the SED, but by local Chambers of Commerce.⁹⁷ In 1893, school boards were allowed to grade the schools in their district if they so wished. This Minute was permissive rather than mandatory. No action was taken if school boards decided to do nothing. Glasgow had begun a form of this even earlier. Roxburgh points out that from 1877, the board began to build schools which it expected would concentrate on secondary work. Garnethill, John Street, Kent Road, Woodside, and Whitehill schools were the result, all carefully placed in areas likely to provide numbers of secondary pupils.⁹⁸ Ten schools still charged fees after 1889, thus introducing grading by financial snobbery.⁹⁹ The Department even tried to prevent this. 100

It should not be forgotten that influence could flow both ways. When the issue of a separate Department of State for Scotland was debated in the '80's, school boards were eager to give the Government the benefit of their advice. The Glasgow delegation fought unsuccessfully against the idea that the Secretary for Scotland should be President of a separate

⁹⁷ RCC Castleton SB Minutes 4/10/98: Letter from Scottish Chambers of Commerce; RCC Hawick SB Minutes 26/12/99: Letter from South of Scotland Chambers of Commerce.

⁹⁸ Roxburgh, op cit p. 130.

⁹⁹ GCA Glasgow SB Minutes 23/9/89.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, 16/1/93.

Committee of Council for Education in Scotland.¹⁰¹ They were definitely against any policy "severing the link between Scotch and English education." In 1872 and the years just before, much of the debate on Scottish education centred around the question of whether education should be administered from Edinburgh or London. The majority were in favour of the former but a few observers believed that to have a controlling body in Edinburgh would seal the doom of education in Scotland; they favoured London because the direction of education would be "placed in his hands independent of local jealousies and discords".¹⁰² One of the reasons for Scottish Catholic anxieties about the 1885 Secretary for Scotland Bill was that they feared a Scottish Department would be less sympathetic to Scottish denominational schools than a British one, used to dealing with English and Irish education.¹⁰³

The eventual compromise, with a Board of Education in Edinburgh to oversee the provision of suitable accommodation, and the SED in London to decide what would be taught in the new schools, seems to have won the acquiescence of both sides. There is no record of any loud wails of despair when the Board of Education was wound up in mid 1879. However, Dreghorn school board, which had enjoyed good relations with the Board, judging by the school board minute books, petitioned for the continuation of the Edinburgh-based Board.¹⁰⁴ Not all school boards had a similarly high opinion of the Board. One reason perhaps, was that it had made itself unpopular with local boards over the standard of education to be provided. Nor did its rather acrimonious relations with the Board of Supervision help. The

¹⁰¹ Ibid, 10/8/85.

¹⁰² SRO LAP Box 19, Bundle 1. Report of meeting - Kirkcaldy, 22/11/1871.

¹⁰³ H.J. Hankam: Scottish Nationalism (1969) p. 57.

¹⁰⁴ ACC Dreghorn SB Minutes 4/4/1877.

Board of Education made a point each year of publishing the number of poor children who had been refused help with their school fees by the Board of Supervision.

It may be concluded that for the bulk of Scots, the central authority over education was generally acceptable. It disbursed large quantities of money to meet increasing needs and seems generally to have had a harmonious working relationship with the localities. Where, however, a local board was obdurate, it was very difficult for the SED to use even financial sanctions effectively. Legal 'force majeure' was no solution. The motivations of a dissident school board had nothing to do with the geographical location of central power. A school board like Clyne was concerned to combat the exercise of what it considered arbitrary power by any central administration. There were very many points of possible friction between the local boards and the central authority, finance being the most important one. To some boards, the centre was a perfectionist body, always demanding improvements to accommodation which had been tolerable the previous year. The tiresome demand for proper lavatory accommodation, with, in the later 1870's, separate entrances for boys and girls, was one example of this. The central authority was sometimes driven almost to distraction by endless and apparently petty personality differences between boards and teachers. The situations in Kelso and Muirkirk discussed in earlier chapters, were examples of this, as was the sectarian struggle at Clyne. What is surprising is that relations between centre and locality were comparatively easy. Perhaps the goal of the 1872 Act, education for all Scottish children, was not entirely lost sight of, despite wrangles over detail.

CHAPTER 7

THE DENOMINATIONAL AND VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS AND THE ACT

"Parliamentary grants ... may be made -

2. To the managers of any school which is, in the opinion of the Scotch Education Department, efficiently contributing to the secular education of the parish or burgh in which it is situated"

"Provided also, that parliamentary grants shall not be made for or in respect of -

(b) A school established after the passing of this Act, not being a public school, unless the said Department shall after due inquiry be satisfied that no sufficient provision exists for the children for whom the school is intended, regard being had to the religious belief of their parents, or that it is otherwise specially required in the locality where it is situated."¹

This Chapter deals with those schools which in 1872 were considered by the government to be deserving of annual Parliamentary grants calculated after the annual visits of the inspectorate. Such schools provided education necessary and suitable for the people of Scotland, and as such were largely elementary. Basically, the schools covered here are the denominational and other voluntary schools like works schools, which were described in the Second Report of the Argyll Commission. Schools which entered the State system of education after 1872 are not discussed here, with the exception of newly-erected Roman Catholic schools, which satisfied the condition expressed in section (b) of the quotation given above: "regard being had to the religious belief of their parents". Hospitals and similar endowed institutions did not meet the conditions quoted. They were not available to the whole people of Scotland, some having entrance qualifications covering only restricted social groups. Furthermore, even geographically they were restricted, being confined mainly to Edinburgh, with a few in Glasgow, and a very few single scattered examples elsewhere, like Dollar. In

1 Education (Scotland) Act, 1872, Section 67

addition, such institutions were not under ordinary annual inspection, and received neither rate nor direct State aid, nor were they, unlike the Higher Class Public Schools, in any way under local school board control. Admittedly, some of these schools did come into the State system - one thinks of the Heriot's Trust after 1885 - but that demanded a radical change in the terms of the Trust; only in this way could such institutions receive Parliamentary grants. This thesis is intended to deal with the impact of the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act. Since Hospitals and similar schools were not affected by that Act - the 1882 Educational Endowments Act was the effective one for these institutions - a study of them would be irrelevant here. This Chapter deals with the denominational equivalent of the public schools - open to all who cared to attend.

Under Section 67 of the Act of 1872 the voluntary and denominational schools continued to exist in the interstices of the national system of education. These schools were not actively discouraged; as the quotation shows, it was possible for them to be in receipt of the parliamentary grant. On the other hand, they could not share in that part of local support provided by the rates. The reason for this was that these schools were necessary for local educational or denominational needs; nationally, however, they catered for only a minority of the Scottish population, and as such, it was felt that they should not benefit from the rates. The effect of this was clear - the number of such schools fell drastically, with certain exceptions which will be examined later.*

* All figures and Tables in this Chapter are compiled from information contained in Committee of Council Reports for the following years:

- a) PP 1874, XX
- b) PP 1886, XXVII
- c) PP 1898, XXVII

1873 figure for Church of Scotland schools, includes approximately 980 parish schools, which formed the foundation of the new public school system. The "Other" schools were Works or Subscription Schools. Not being denominationally connected, they were not mentioned in the 1873 figures.

	Public	C of S	F C	Episc	R C	Other
1873	-	1,341	560	84	65	-
1885	2,559	104	26	74	154	226
1897	2,738	34	8	71	184	84

What were the motives of the managers in continuing, or particularly in the case of the Roman Catholics, in adding to their stock of schools? In most cases, it seems that denominational considerations were of the greatest importance. The Roman Catholic community, and especially the Irish majority, felt the necessity to safeguard their own cultural patterns, as expressed in their own Church and schools. To a lesser extent, the same applied to the Episcopalians, who were strongest in the east of the country, and along the north-east coast.² Where the Works schools were concerned, the motives were more mixed. Some, like those of the Bairds, were continued for denominational reasons - the Baird family was against what they chose to regard as State aid for the teaching of religion.³ In other cases, profit motives were strong. The Works Schools at times could make profits for their employers.⁴ In some cases, the children of well-placed employees like managers were discouraged from attending the board schools, and instead sent to the Works school as a good example to other employees.⁵ The result could be a twice-daily long and weary walk for a child, as described by the son of a manager of the Dalmellington Iron Works. Finally, it should not be thought that these types of school suddenly became superfluous with the passing of the Act. As the Argyll Commission had shown, the existing provision of schools was insufficient for the population. Some school boards, as Roxburgh notes,⁶ pled with the managers to maintain their schools.

2 J. Scotland: History of Scottish Education (1969) Vol.II p.44

3 W.H. Marwick: Economic Developments in Victorian Scotland (1936) p.170

4 W. Boyd: Education in Ayrshire through Seven Centuries (1961) p.141

5 D.L. Smith: The Dalmellington Iron Company (1967) p.161/2:
1½ mile walk each way

6 J.M. Roxburgh: The School Board of Glasgow 1873-1919 (1971) pp.57,58

In other areas, the boards seem to have accepted such schools as a necessary part of local school provision.⁷ The position of the voluntary schools set up by local landowners was much less ambiguous. They were continued as long as there was a demand for them, but once faced with competition from the board schools, they usually closed down. Sir William Elliot told the school board of Hobkirk in Roxburghshire that his wife's school would shortly be closed on account of dwindling attendance.⁸ Similarly, when Roxburgh school board built a new school in the vicinity of Fairnington Church of Scotland school, the latter institution closed.⁹ It had been maintained partly by the heritors and partly by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, who jointly paid the teacher's salary.¹⁰ Apparently, it was recognised as efficient, for it received a government grant. However, it could not compete with the superior school board accommodation and by 1876 needed such extensive repairs that any future government grant would be withheld if these were not carried out.¹¹ By the later 1880's, the Works schools also were finding it too difficult to continue, even though many could depend on regular income from the fees stopped from the wages of employees.¹² In 1887, the Eglinton Iron Company made over its schools at Cronberry and Duncommen which the school board had leased for some years previously.¹³ Earlier, Lady Boswall had also made over her school - a Female School - to Auchinleck school board.¹⁴ Clearly, there was a time lag in the making over of these Presbyterian denominational, proprietorial, or works schools. In general, the chronology of making over of schools seems to have been as stated in the previous sentence. The works schools, with their usually guaranteed fee income,

7 RCC Kelso SB Minutes 4/6/1873; ACC Muirkirk SB Minutes 6/6/1873 - Two Works Schools. ACC Dalmellington SB Minutes 26/1/1874 - Ironworks School

8 RCC Hobkirk SB Minutes, 15/2/77

9 NLS, MS 3126, ff.81-3, H.Rutherford, owner of Fairnington estate, to Rev D. Paul, Roxburgh, 14/4/1879

10 Ibid, Memorial of Roxburgh SB about Fairnington School, 1/4/1876

11 Ibid, Chairman of Roxburgh SB to Rev W. Lamb, Ednam, 17/1/1876

12 ACC Muirkirk SB Minutes 21/4/1879; Cairntable Gas Coal Company

13 ACC Auchinleck SB Minutes 28/7/1887

14 Ibid 13/5/1882

seem to have survived longest, perhaps also because, in Ayrshire at least, they were situated in very remote parts of parishes which could not very easily have alternative accommodation provided by the local school board. But decline in numbers these schools did, because accommodation standards set by the centre constantly became more stringent - e.g. separate classrooms, better toilets - and the managers were often reluctant to become involved in extra financial outlay.

Given, then, that except in the case of the Roman Catholic schools, the voluntary schools were declining in numbers, how did they function within the school system after 1872? Was there any marked deleterious effect on these schools which could not share in the local rate allocation? One of the clearest indications of the relative health of different types of school was the amount of government grant earned per scholar in average attendance. This was an indicator, however crude, of the quality of teaching and general economic health of different sorts of schools. It is possible to query the philosophical basis of the payment by results method of estimating efficiency; all the same, the variations among the types of school are significant, at least where contemporary opinion was concerned. In 1885, the figures were:

Average Grant	C of S	F C	Episcop.	R C	Other
18s 2½d	18s 5½d	17s 10¼d	16s 5¾d	16s 5½d	17s 10¼d

The higher figure for the Church of Scotland schools seems to suggest that where schools could rely on previous endowments, as many of these could, the grant earning figure was likely to be somewhat higher. It also appears likely that these schools, like some of the Free Church schools were old Sessional schools, which as the Argyll Commissioners showed, attempted to attract the children of the better-off working class - the artisans - and the small shopkeepers.¹⁵ Many

of these children stayed at school for a longer time and were therefore in the position of earning more for their school in the Specific Subjects. In the case of "Other" schools, these were mostly works and subscription institutions. The power of employers to levy school fees from the wages of employees¹⁶ meant that parents had every incentive to encourage their children to attend regularly - hence earning an increased government grant for the school. In 1877-8, Boyd states¹⁷ that the income of the five schools operated by the Dalmellington Iron Company was £714 9s 4d from the fees levied on employees, and £837 11s in government grants; the Company paid £171 9s 4d as its contribution. This compares favourably with the amount of school rate which Dalmellington parish had to pay - £360 - to support its sole school.¹⁸ Some of this was admittedly interest charges on the new building, but nevertheless shows that with a guaranteed fee income, a works school could operate very satisfactorily in the 1870's, and keep well up to the average in government grant earned. The Episcopalian and Roman Catholic schools, which catered mostly for the children of the manual working class, were in a much less favourable position. As the Argyll Commissioners found, the greatest difficulty faced by the Roman Catholic schools, was early leaving. After 1872, this affected their capacity for earning grants under Article 21.¹⁹ Early leaving was not a problem confined to the pre-1872 period. The inspectors found that in some areas this was caused because migratory parents took their children too soon from their Roman Catholic schools.²⁰ Three-quarters of all Scottish half-time pupils came from Dundee in 1886; of these, a very large proportion were in Roman Catholic day schools.²¹ It was hardly surprising that grants for these schools were low. The position of Episcopalian education

16 Boyd, *op cit* pp.141, 169 17 Boyd, *ibid* p.142, footnote 2

18 ACC Dalmellington SB Minutes 7/7/1877

19 Sister M. Skinnider: "Catholic Elementary Education in Glasgow" in T.R.Bone (editor) Studies in the History of Scottish Education 1872-1939 (1967) p.28

20 PP 1876 XXV Ross p.155

21 PP 1886 XXVII Macleod p.232

was similar:

"In Glasgow, Paisley, Dundee, Aberdeen, etc., etc., elementary education is not, I conceive, general, and this appears to me to arise from a failure in the demand for it. The cause of this failure, is not a want of will on the part of the parents to procure education for their children, but a want of power, producing however not an entire failure, but a partial one, the children being sent both too irregularly and too short a time to school."²²

Other possible reasons for a lower grant in these schools (Roman Catholic and Episcopalian) were less able teachers, principally the result of a lower level of training, and poorer accommodation. Both these will be dealt with later in this Chapter.

Since the voluntary schools could not rely on the rates to make up financial deficits, how did they manage to maintain their schools? In order to provide new schools, many management committees had to undertake debts which they found hard to repay. This was especially the case of the Roman Catholic Schools, where the poor paid for the education of the poor.²³ Indeed, all non-State schools were at a disadvantage after 1872, because parents were rated for the public schools, and if they wished to maintain their voluntary schools, had to give over again for this purpose. Indeed, one HMI, Dr Middleton, showed a somewhat embarrassing ignorance of this fact in his Report for 1874 when he expressed surprise at this situation.²⁴ The HMI's of Schools were favourably impressed by the way in which the Roman Catholics met this difficulty.²⁵ Apart from one criticism of the new accommodation provided - the single room, without classrooms at Old Cumnock²⁶ - the inspectorate were pleased with the general accommodation provided by Roman Catholic managers.²⁷ Some part of the upkeep was provided by the

²² PP 1860 LIV Wilkinson p.274

²³ M.B. Dealy: Catholic Schools in Scotland (1945) p.128

²⁴ PP 1874 XX Middleton pp.81-2

²⁵ PP 1882 XXV Ross p.150

²⁶ PP 1882 XXV Marshall p.129

²⁷ PP 1882 XXV Ross p.150; PP 1888 XLI Jolly p.235; PP 1895 XXX Ogilvie p.357

holding of bazaars,²⁸ but as the figures for 1897 show, this could not make up for the rates received by the public schools:

"Maintenance" Costs per head - Public £2 11s 4½d: Voluntary £2 4s 6½d

	Public	Voluntary
Ratepayers	14s 3½d	-
Subscriptions	½d	8s 0½d
Fee Grant	12s 0 d	11s 6¾d
Pence	1s 2¾d	2s 5¾d
Endowment	5½d	1s 3½d
Miscellaneous	3½d	8½d
Sc. & Art Dept.	10 d	5½d
Secy. Educ.	11½d	6½d

Clearly, although the voluntary schools had lower running costs, this was in part forced on them by necessity. Their earnings from government sources, excluding Standard, Class and Specific Subjects grants, were lower. A comparison of the Fee Grant, Science and Art Department, and County Secondary Education Grants, make this clear. In particular, the voluntary schools could not afford the extra facilities needed to earn the grants for technical instruction.²⁹ On the other hand, in extenuation, it should also be noted that many public schools, especially in rural areas, did not provide such facilities either.

Indeed, the provision of any buildings at all, was something of a triumph for the voluntary schools. The Catholics provided new schools after 1872 entirely on their own initiative. Some school boards were unhappy about this Catholic provision, partly one suspects, for sectarian reasons, but partly also because by the 1880's it duplicated existing board provision and school boards had visions of their schools standing half-empty and losing grant-earning pupils. In point of fact, some diminution in numbers in attendance at most Ayrshire schools was perhaps not too bad a thing, since with the influx of population some

²⁸ J. Handley: The Irish in Modern Scotland (1947) p.223

²⁹ Skinnider op cit p.33

schools could barely meet the accommodation standards set by the centre. For example, Muirkirk school board objected to a government grant to St Thomas' Roman Catholic school because the board operated the time table clause and therefore felt that on these grounds the Roman Catholics were already adequately provided for.³⁰ Old Cumnock school board did not directly object to the addition of the Roman Catholic school to the Annual Grant List, but did point out rather sharply that: "the School Board had provided ample accommodation for all the Children of School age within the Parish".³¹ Nevertheless, despite these objections the Roman Catholics went ahead and built schools for their children, generally up to a high standard. Unlike the public schools, they could not claim the money grants offered by the government for the building of new schools up to December 1873. The position was reflected in the following Table:

Buildings provided with the help of Government grants: 1839-1887

	Public Schools	C of S	F C	Episcop.	R C
Institutions	980	235	167	8	12
Residences	766	127	101	7	3

All the non-public school buildings were erected before 1872.

The high standard reached by Catholic effort has already been mentioned. Unfortunately, the same thing could not be said of those buildings erected by others in the voluntary field of education. In the same Report which praised the achievement of the Catholics, HMI Mr Ross noted of the Episcopalian schools in his area:

"In regard to buildings, furniture, general equipment and broad results they are at the low end of the list." ³²

30 ACC Muirkirk SB Minutes 14/5/1883

31 ACC Old Cumnock SB Minutes 27/1/1887

32 PP 1882 XXV Ross p.150

Nevertheless, although the inspectorate was unbiased in its assessment of Episcopalian accommodation, standards were not uniformly low. In Daviot and Dunlichty, Episcopalians had to contend with local bigotry. The school board wished to site a new school only three hundred yards from an existing Episcopalian school. The latter had been described in returns made to the Board of Education as newish and in good condition. The Board agreed with the provost of St Andrew's Cathedral, Inverness, who claimed that Aberarder "being an Episcopal school they [the school board] wished to close it down", and refused to sanction the school board school.³³ This standard of accommodation was, however, perhaps the exception rather than the rule for non-Catholic voluntary schools. Many were below the average standard of accommodation. This was true especially of Works schools. Their buildings had, as the footnote to the Table indicates, all been erected before 1872. As a result, many needed improvement, something which the managers were reluctant to undertake. Accordingly, the making over of Works schools to the local board was sometimes less generous on the part of the managers than it seemed. Dalrymple school board was offered the Kerse school by the Dalmellington Iron Company, but was willing to take it over only if the Company would repair it.³⁴ HMI Dr Smith criticised the board school provision at Carfin in Lanarkshire, but noted that this was because they had been "till lately Works schools", and had got "a prescriptive right to be tolerated".³⁵ The sort of difficulties that Works school teachers laboured under is illustrated in the Eglinton Ironworks School at Kilwinning, where two teachers and two pupil teachers taught 60 to 100 children in a room 41 feet by 30 feet.³⁶ Marshall again commented in

33 ICC Daviot and Dunlichty SB Minutes 3/4/1874; 23/10/1874

34 ACC Dalrymple SB Minutes 21/6/1895

35 PP 1888 XLI Smith p.235

36 PP 1882 XXV Marshall p.129

1885 that the "Works' school buildings are generally inferior to the board schools".³⁷ Not all Works schools were bad, of course, HMI Mr Boyd approved of the "fine new half-time school built by the firm of J. and P. Coats".³⁸ This was, however, an exception; furthermore it was a half-time school, and though the SED may have appreciated the building itself, the inspectorate was unanimous about the deleterious effect of such organisation on the education of children. It was very doubtful if the SED approved of many proprietary schools. Most were at least as poor as the Works schools, so far as accommodation was concerned. In 1897, the school at Samuelston in East Lothian was taken over by the board there:

"The premises of this school, hitherto a 'Church of Scotland school' supported mainly by the Earl of Haddington, are to be suitably improved."³⁹

Nor was this an exception. Lilliesleaf school board was given the Heritors' Girls School - the Currie Female School - when the school board was first set up.⁴⁰ However the building was defective - there was no classroom, and no separate entrance to the toilets. As a result the board lost part of the government grant in 1883.⁴¹ Partly, of course, this grant loss was due to a lethargic school board, but it does show the defects in this type of school. Similarly in St Quivox, Whitletts Feuars Subscription School was transferred to the board. This was housed in one large room ⁴²43 feet 10 inches by 19 feet 8 inches. This poor accommodation was to be a bone of contention between St Quivox school board and the SED for a number of years.⁴³ In many cases, the necessary improvements to transferred schools were a financial burden

37 PP 1884-5 XXVI Marshall p.184

38 PP 1888 XLI Boyd p.237

39 PP 1898 XXVIII Ogilvie p.336

40 RCC Lilliesleaf SB Minutes 5/7/1873

41 Ibid 3/2/1883

42 ACC St Quivox SB Minutes 12/7/1873

43 Ibid 26/2/1881; 14/3/1882; 27/1/1883; 31/7/1883; 27/11/1883; 5/2/1884; 26/2/1884; 18/11/1884. School finally extended in accordance with central standards.

even to the new school boards. The effort of sustaining a voluntary school was obviously beyond those groups unaided by the rates which did not have a compelling motive which could transcend financial difficulties.

Unfortunately, though the voluntary schools did, with varying amounts of success provide the physical equipment in the sense of four walls and a roof for their children, they found the burden of a salary approaching the public level too much. This was reflected in the salaries for 1885:

	Average	C of S	F C	Episcop.	R C	Other
Male	£135	£132	£135	£134	£109	£145
Female	£ 63	£ 75	£ 71	£ 68	£ 69	£ 67

Only dedicated men could be found in Roman Catholic schools at this time. Dedicated women there were a-plenty. Sister Skinnider points out that various Teaching Orders, both female and male, gave great service to the cause of Roman Catholic education in Glasgow.⁴⁴ The reason for the relatively high level of female salaries in the voluntary schools was that these were the salaries of certificated teachers, both principal and assistant. In general, the school boards employed more female assistants than the voluntary schools. Because such schools had fewer assistant teachers, this pulled up the salary level. Furthermore, many Roman Catholic schools relied heavily on uncertificated labour and ex-pupil teachers.⁴⁵ These uncertificated teachers were generally in the Teaching Orders, so, as Sister Skinnider points out, were not necessarily inefficient. Nor indeed was the use of ex-pupil teachers to save money confined to the Catholic schools. With far less justification-they could rely on the rates - some school boards made it a policy to employ these low-salaried, untrained teachers. They were not inexperienced -

⁴⁴ T.R. Bone: Studies in the History of Scottish Education 1872-1939 (1967): Sister M. Skinnider: Catholic Elementary Education in Glasgow 1888-1918, p.18

⁴⁵ Handley op cit, p.226; PP 1882 XXV Ross p.150; Scotland op cit Vol.II p.44

as their name suggests, they had served their apprenticeships as pupil teachers - but not having gone to Normal School, they were unlikely to be au fait with the most modern teaching methods, or capable of teaching more than elementary subjects. In Kirkoswald, the teacher was paid so little by the board, which also expected him to pay the salary of any assistant teacher from the government grant, that he refused to have a trained assistant teacher, and asked instead for an ex-pupil teacher.⁴⁶ Another parsimonious school board, Lilliesleaf, appears to have employed a female ex-pupil teacher in Lilliesleaf school as a matter of course for a number of years.⁴⁷ In a few cases, it was clear that even rate-aided schools were inclined to save money by either employing non-certificated staff, or paying them, as in Lilliesleaf, below the national average salary. Finally, schools under the heading 'Other' included both the Works schools, which Boyd suggests were money-spinners,⁴⁸ and the endowed and proprietary schools. These schools, too, paid their female teachers more than the national average, and their male teachers considerably more. The money spinning aspect of the Works schools may have declined with more stringent standards of accommodation, but the higher level of average attendance kept the government grant high, and hence, on payment by results, the teacher's salary above the average. Non-Works schools could rely on the generosity of some patron, either local or national. The Samuelston and Fairnington schools were cases in point. Obviously, salaries in the denominational and voluntary schools varied widely. A number of factors accounted for this, but it may be concluded that a reasonably generous

⁴⁶ ACC Kirkoswald SB Minutes 22/7/1897

⁴⁷ RCC Lilliesleaf SB Minutes 2/3/1884; 9/9/1885; 5/2/1887; 1/10/1892; 1/6/1895. These women were paid £30 per annum (except in the last case: £40) instead of the £60 plus paid to a trained female assistant teacher.

⁴⁸ Boyd op cit p.141

school board would always find it easier to pay their teachers a decent salary. If all else failed, rates could be levied to make up the deficit. The denominational and voluntary schools had no such safety-net.

Difficulties over fees also dogged the voluntary schools. Once again, there was a wide variation. The 1897 figures for those children receiving free education, coming as they did after the legislation of the early '90's which made all Standard instruction free, are extremely interesting.

Public	C of S	F C	Episcop.	R C	Undenom.	Average
97.64%	96.16%	85.25%	98.87%	99.2%	82.93%	97.44%

The function of the Undenominational, Church of Scotland, and Free Church schools in providing within the system for the better-off, becomes abundantly clear. The significantly higher proportion of children who attended school free in the Catholic and Episcopalian sector reflects, it appears, the poorer financial backgrounds of their pupils. The evidence for this appears conclusive, especially when the case pre-1872 is taken into account.⁴⁹ HMI the Rev Thomas Wilkinson took it as a matter of course that "in schools for the poor ... the children leave soon". Hence such children could not take advantage of post-Standard education, and hence the higher percentage of those paying no fees. It seems likely that though their share of the fee grant was lower - see p.²⁹¹ - the voluntary schools, and especially the Catholic schools, were greatly helped by the Probate Duty Grant and later central government grants permitting free education. As was the rule, these fee grants depended on the level of average attendance; this accounts in part for the lower level of grants. It was not for the want of zealotry on the part of the managers, as was sometimes the case in the board schools.

⁴⁹ Arg.Com. Glasgow p.157; PP 1854-5 XLII Wilkinson p.724

Sister Skinnider emphasises the enthusiasm of the managers, but adds that poverty prevented good attendance.⁵⁰

These fee grants were dependent on attendance to a very large extent. Here again, the picture in the voluntary sector was far from clear, and certain anomalies appear. The position in 1884 was as follows:

Numbers Presented	Public	C of S	F C	Episc.	R C	Other
10 -	143,701	5,051	2,027	3,839	11,832	10,488
10 +	144,709	4,825	2,172	3,346	11,275	11,953

The low numbers presented in all the denominational schools but the Roman Catholic will be noted here. One of the reasons for the comparatively heavy emphasis on the latter schools has been that they were the largest denominational grouping, increasing in numbers every year. The only group of schools of comparable size were the "Other" - mostly Works schools. Again, they have had a fair amount of attention paid to them, but as the school board examples show, they declined in numbers unlike the Catholic situation. Both the public and the "Other" schools presented more children over ten years of age than they did of those who were less than ten. This suggests that the level of instruction was higher in these institutions. It suggests also that the possibility of enforcing attendance by either legal means, or by prior deduction of the school fees from employees' wages was a factor in the high level of presentations over ten. Only those children who had made the requisite number of attendances could be presented. As far as can be ascertained, this was the case. The anomaly lies in the numbers presented in the Episcopalian and Roman Catholic schools over the age of ten. It is true that the figure is lower than that of the under ten's. The question here is, why is it not lower still? The whole trend of this study has suggested that these schools had children who left earlier and with a

50 Bone: Studies: Sister M. Skinnider pp.27, 33.

lower level of education. Certainly commentators on the Catholic schools were convinced of this.⁵¹ One possible explanation was put forward by HMI of Schools Mr Andrew, who pointed out that most of the older children in Roman Catholic schools, in lower standards than one might expect from their age, were new immigrants from Ireland.⁵² Furthermore, those children presented in Catholic and Episcopalian schools over the age of ten were often those who wished to pass Standards III or V and hence gain the right to take up part or full-time work. If we keep Andrew's additional explanation in mind, it is possible to see that the rule that full-time work could not be undertaken until the thirteenth birthday was reached, was not much of a handicap. Passing Standard V at the age of thirteen meant that a year's paid employment was possible before the normal leaving age of fourteen. Even passing Standard III gave the possibility of half-time work. These children were not staying on at school to study advanced subjects; they were still at school because they had not yet reached an acceptable level of literacy, and until they reached it, they could not start work.

Where the Catholic schools were concerned, every effort was made to ensure that those who were enrolled, attended school. This was something of a contrast from the position in rural board schools, where the school board members themselves employed under-age labour on occasion. On the other hand, most of the children attending Catholic schools attended urban schools, where the level of enforcement of the compulsory clause was higher in any case. It does seem, however, that those Catholic children who attended rural/industrial Ayrshire schools where the boards did enforce the compulsory clause fairly conscientiously, still had a lower attendance rate than the board and other schools.

51 T.R. Bone: School Inspection in Scotland 1840-1966 (1968) p.107; Handley op cit p.192; Skinnider op cit p.21

52 PP 1898 XXVIII Andrew pp.365-6

This bears out the evidence of commentators on the low level of attendance attributable to poverty. School board figures are rather scant on this subject, perhaps understandably, since they did not control Roman Catholic schools. In Dalmellington in 1892, the average school attendance for all children was 78%, while the Catholic attendance was only 73%.⁵³ In Muirkirk in 1891, the Catholic attendance rate was again well below the average for all the schools in the parish, being 65% compared to 79% overall.⁵⁴ All the same, it appears the Catholics were particularly keen on enforcing attendance. It seems that this was due in part to the close links between school and church - on Sundays the priests exhorted parents to send their children regularly to school and the curates backed them up. The HMI's noted this aspect of social life. Mr Andrew praised the enforcement of attendance by the school managers and suggested that this was in part because the priests stood 'in loco parentis' for many poor children. Clothes and food were provided for those whose need was desperate.⁵⁵ Celtic Football Club was founded in 1887; the proceeds of the gates went to provide free meals for poor children.⁵⁶ In a few cases, enforcement of attendance seems to have become an obsession which threatened the academic good of the school. Sister Martha Skinnider quotes one case, at St Alphonsus' Boys' School in Glasgow, where

"children marked present were out of school trying to bring in their absent companions."⁵⁷

Such a policy bore fruit after 1890, when so much of the grant was given for attendance. All the same, the difficulties which had to be faced can be grasped, when it is remembered that even despite these efforts,

53 ACC Dalmellington SB Minutes 24/3/1892

54 ACC Muirkirk SB Minutes 6/10/1891

55 PP 1898 XXVIII Andrew p.374

56 Handley op cit p.227

57 Skinnider op cit p.27

the voluntary schools earned less in Fee Grants than the public schools, - see p.²⁹¹. Their lower attendance rates compared to other schools ensured this. Desperate poverty was the reason. Of course, this was not confined to Roman Catholic families. Widows with children of school age were often in desperate straits. Two were summoned before Kelso School board in 1883, to explain the absence of their sons. Mrs Dickson explained that her son John was kept from school to mind the other children because "of her having to work out at times". In Mrs Connelly's case (possibly a Catholic?) her son did a paper round first to help out the family income and could not come to school before 11 o'clock.⁵⁸ It was economic difficulties like that, that made some Catholic children such poor attenders. Of course, the grant might have been pulled down by the other voluntary schools, though, given the social and economic background of these schools, it seems unlikely.

A number of difficulties, then, faced the denominational and voluntary schools. Not the least of these was the low level of qualification reached by teachers in Roman Catholic, Episcopalian and 'Other' schools. Once again, the reasons were very different. In the 'Other' schools, it seems likely that while most teachers were certificated, they had to contend with large classes, in premises like those described on page which made any sort of higher level work very difficult. The problem was quite different, in the case of the Episcopal and Catholic schools. They relied heavily on untrained and ex-pupil teachers for staff. One reason was that these unqualified staff were cheaper to employ.⁵⁹ Again, this problem was not confined to denominational schools, the Lilliesleaf case has already been described. The inspectorate recognised, however, that the denominational schools had special

58 RCC Kelso SB Minutes 3/5/1883

59 Handley, op cit p.226; Dealy op cit p.156; Scotland op cit p.44 vol.II.

problems, in not being able to rely on rate aid. HMI Mr Andrew criticised the number of ex-pupil teachers in Roman Catholic schools, but sympathised with their problems.⁶⁰ The other reason was that until 1894 there was no Catholic training college* for Scotland. The nearest Training College was in Liverpool, which was too far for the poverty-stricken Catholic Church in Scotland. The HMI's saw that this was a problem, and urged the founding of a Scottish College.⁶¹ The Catholics themselves knew that this was a weakness. In 1891, Dr Ogilvie found that: "The Roman Catholics are fully alive to the need of providing a Training College for Scotland".⁶² The poor position of Catholic schools was reflected in these figures for 1897, after Notre Dame Training College for women had been founded in 1894 - it took more than a couple of years to rectify the position.

	Trained		Untrained	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Public	3,154	3,310	812	1,597
C of S	21	41	4	13
F C	24	27	2	4
Episc.	35	67	5	33
R C	67	161	28	229
Other	38	69	25	57

It seems, then, that the voluntary schools fared differently under the new national system of education set up after 1872. Those schools which had endowments did quite well; they could claim government grants and rely on a certain minimum income as well. Even so, there had to be a real desire to maintain these schools. The demise of the Fairnington school, and the reasons for it, were the result of a lack of drive on the part of the managers both local and national. The difficulties faced by the Established and Free Kirk's Education Committees in keeping up

60 PP 1898 XXVIII Andrew p.377

61 PP 1893 XXVIII Bathgate p.257

62 PP 1892 XXXI Ogilvie p.256

* The Episcopalians had a female training college in Edinburgh

levels of congregational giving for educational purposes have already been described in Chapter 6. Nevertheless, many of the old sessional schools hung on grimly after Young's Act. A number, like the Samuelston school, endowed by a proprietor and administered by the Church of Scotland, gave up the struggle. The HMI's described their plight sympathetically:

"The sessional schools maintain a gallant but very unequal fight against the Board schools and only the best continue to thrive. In the interests both of the teachers, many of whom have done, and are still doing, excellent work, and of general education, it is very desirable that their managers and the boards should come to terms for their transference."⁶³

Schools classed as 'Other', mostly Works and subscription (not adventure schools) also compared favourably with some the public schools. They were considerably helped by the guaranteed fee incomes most had. Boyd points out that all Ayrshire Works schools bar one had this source of revenue.⁶⁴ However, by the late 1890's very few schools remained out-with school board control. Most voluntary schools were more or less amicably transferred.

Unfortunately for the non-Presbyterian denominational schools, those of the Episcopalians and the Roman Catholics, such an easy solution was not available. They struggled on in the later nineteenth century. It is significant that it was the Episcopal schools which diminished in numbers. They mostly served native Scots, unlike the Catholic schools, which, in the urban areas at least, served the Irish immigrants. It was less catastrophic for the Episcopalians to admit that they could not keep up their schools in the same numbers. For the Catholics, and especially those of Irish origin, giving up their schools was tantamount to giving up their identity. Rightly or not, they feared Protestant proselytising. How justified was this anxiety?

⁶³ PP 1881, XXXIV Kerr p.124

⁶⁴ Boyd op cit p.169

Where the inspectors were concerned, the Catholic community had little to fear. Most of the inspectors were Presbyterian, but they held rigorously to the injunction not to interfere in religious education. It is significant that there was not a breath of criticism from the Catholic community on this head. As we saw in Clyne, complaints against the inspectorate were more likely to come from fellow Presbyterians. Catholic schools were judged just like the overwhelmingly Protestant Board schools. HMI Mr Ross noted in 1876:

"these schools [RC] deserve an honourable place. I have been uniformly strict with them, as with other schools, and outspoken in touching their defects. The priests are intelligent, energetic, and fair managers. In the matter of discipline I rate these schools highly; in general intelligence they are low."⁶⁵

Glasgow, the largest school board in Scotland, had exemplary relations with Roman Catholic school managers. Roxburgh notes that Glasgow opened a Day Industrial School, staffed by school board teachers, for Roman Catholic children in 1908 in Govan. The board also opened a fully-integrated Truant School in 1905 in Shettleston, the first such venture in Scotland.⁶⁶ While such schools are outwith the immediate scope of this study, the very fact that a school board and the Catholic authorities could work together suggests that where enough goodwill was present, amicable relations were quite possible. On the other hand, the Catholics had some justified complaints about the actions of other Scots. The case of Garrynamonie school board in South Uist has already been mentioned. These native Catholics did not feel free to elect a predominantly Catholic board until their crofting tenure had been in some measure safeguarded. HMI Dr Wilson found few school boards in this position in predominantly Catholic areas.⁶⁷ Earlier in the century, grants had been extended by the government to Catholic schools only in

65 PP 1876 XXV Ross pp.155-6

66 Roxburgh op cit pp.193-4, 197-8

67 J. Wilson: Tales and Travels of a School Inspector (1928) p.54

the fact of Free Church opposition.⁶⁸ Catholic managers, unlike those in Glasgow⁶⁹ were sometimes subjected to petty complaints from local school boards when they gave notice that they intended to set up a Catholic school. Crieff school board objected to this because it feared a possible loss of government grant on account of the new Catholic school.⁷⁰ The same was true of Muirkirk school board in 1883.⁷¹ As mentioned before, Old Cumnock school board was worried about the possibility of surplus accommodation if a Catholic school was given a government grant.⁷² However, as HMI Mr Marshall showed, there was a Catholic school in existence some years prior to the objection, so perhaps after all it was a question of religious bigotry on the part of the Cumnock board.⁷³ The delay between the building of the school - criticised for its accommodation by Marshall - and its receiving a government grant is indicative of the difficulties faced by Roman Catholic managers. It was not enough merely to provide a building, it had also to be suitable and, presumably, though this is not mentioned, properly staffed as well. When, in addition, Catholic managers had to deal with local hostility, it is surprising that the number of schools under their control was maintained, and even increased.

It should be noted, however, that complaints about the setting up of 'rival' schools were not confined to those managed by Catholics. Much delay in school provision in areas on the borders of parishes arose from disputes between two school boards over what proportion of government grant should go to each school board. The same applied to funding the debt needed to build the new school.⁷⁴ A similar situation

68 PP 1847-8 L Committee of Council p.xxxiii

69 GCA Glasgow SB Minutes 11/4/1881

70 Handley op cit p.225

71 ACC Muirkirk SB Minutes 14/5/1883

72 ACC Old Cumnock SB Minutes 24/2/1887

73 PP 1882 XXV Marshall p.129

74 RCC Bedrule SB Minutes 5/12/73; RCC Hobkirk SB Minutes 21/1/74

arose in Dalrymple in Ayrshire. The board agreed to build a school jointly with Kirkmichael to serve children from both parishes. One Dalrymple member - Alexander Ligertwood a factor - was strenuously opposed and went so far as to send a lawyer's letter against the arrangement.⁷⁵ However, since the Board of Education favoured the project, it went ahead, but the school does not seem to have been in use until 1875. In both the Roxburgh and Ayrshire cases, predominantly Established Church school boards found it difficult to come to an agreement. Difficulties were multiplied where denominational differences also occurred. Indeed, with the exception of Old Cumnock, where relations between the board, the 'old parochial' and the Free Church schoolmaster seem to have been particularly harmonious,⁷⁶ the changeover of 1872 could be a fruitful source of strife. Clyne was of course exceptional. There, sectarian feeling suggested the Free Church school as the central school, with its teacher, presumably, as the principal teacher of the parish.⁷⁷ The bitter reaction of the board when grants were refused to the Free Kirk school and given to the old parochial school has already been noted.⁷⁸ The quarrel was less vicious in Symington in Ayrshire, but even there the Established Church minister on the school board objected to the transfer of the Free Church school. Very unusually for this board, the matter even came to a vote, which decided to accept the school if the managers would agree.⁷⁹ Perhaps the Rev Mr Davidson was right to be suspicious of the gift, since in 1875 both the old Free Kirk and the old parochial buildings were so bad that the inspector refused the annual grant.⁸⁰ However, there was undoubtedly also some sectarian animus. Even the tiny parish of

75 ACC Dalrymple SB Minutes 7/6/1873; 5/8/1873; 5/12/1874; 3/3/1875

76 ACC Old Cumnock SB Minutes 7/8/73

77 SCC Clyne SB Minutes 3/11/74

78 SCC Clyne SB Minutes 14/9/80

79 ACC Symington SB Minutes 1/5/1873

80 Ibid 5/8/1875

Loth saw some conflict - a deputation of ratepayers met the board in 1889 after the closure of the former Free Church school at Port Gower.⁸¹

On the whole, however, the changeover between the voluntary schools as they closed down, and the existing system was amicable. Quarrels usually concerned money where Presbyterian and undenominational schools were involved. It was only where Catholic schools were concerned that bitter religious, and perhaps racial prejudice, reared its ugly head. One may not agree with the Catholic demand for separate schools, even at the expense of a really efficient education; one can see how it arose in the religious climate of nineteenth century Scotland.

The denominational and voluntary schools in receipt of the government grant in 1872 played a very important role in providing education for many Scottish children in the years immediately after the 1872 Act. As Roxburgh has shown, the decision of denominational and voluntary school managers to close their schools, could be a great embarrassment to school boards like Glasgow, struggling desperately enough already to provide the necessary accommodation. However, close they did, partly because the Presbyterian denominational schools found congregational financial support lacking after 1872 - after all, every household had to pay a board school rate. The Works schools hung on a bit longer, because they could rely on a regular fee income, but even they found their old buildings an increasing liability. Denominational anxieties kept Episcopalian schools going for a time, but eventually they, too, succumbed. Only the Roman Catholics ended the century with more schools than they had in 1872. Irish immigration constantly increased their numbers. Of all the voluntary school managers, only they felt really threatened, both denominationally and racially. It was hardly surprising that Catholic children formed the only substantial non-board school group by 1900..

81 SCC Loth SB Minutes 2/11/89

CHAPTER 8

SECONDARY EDUCATION UNDER THE ACT OF 1872

The Young Act of 1872 primarily dealt with the problem of elementary education in Scottish schools. However, for a number of reasons, it was found necessary to include within the primary curriculum some more advanced forms of instruction; and within the state system, institutions offering more than elementary schooling. There are three questions to be answered here - first, why was it necessary to do this; and secondly, how successfully was the plan carried out? Lastly, why was this advanced instruction largely removed from the elementary schools in 1899? In the interests of clarity, this chapter will be divided into three parts. The first and largest part will deal with the teaching of advanced subjects in the elementary schools of Scotland after 1872. The higher class public schools will be the subject of the second part. Lastly, reasons for the separation of advanced from elementary education in the school board schools will be suggested.

It is not intended in this study, to deal with education that was outwith the control of the school boards - this excludes, therefore, the endowed and private schools of Scotland. These schools received no grant or rate aid, even when the instruction they gave was elementary. They were not covered by the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act; indeed, they were not even inspected by the HMI's. Usually, these schools were not concerned with working class education, except in the rare case of a bright bursar. The role of Class Subjects in Scottish schools has already been discussed in Chapter 4. Evening schools, providing only part-time study for students over the age of thirteen, do not come strictly within the limits of this study either. Between 1872 and 1893, they provided only evening study for those children who had had to leave school before gaining full exemption, either by age,

or by passing Standard V. In 1877, HMI Dr Middleton found 63 evening schools in his district, Lanarkshire, of which 46 were under the school boards; 13 were Roman Catholic; and the Established Church, Free Kirk, Episcopalian, and works institutions had one each. The average attendance was 4,630, with a 97.5% pass in reading, an 86.7% pass in writing, and an 80.7% pass in arithmetic. While he welcomed the advent of payment by results in this field of school work, Middleton wished that attendance was more regular.¹ Clearly, these classes were not concerned with secondary work. The Evening Continuation School Code of 1893 provided for advanced subjects like mathematics and agriculture, as well as foreign languages. The opportunity was accepted with alacrity by boards, teachers and pupils, for it quickly earned high grants. In 1894, an evening continuation class at Sandystone School under Ancrum school board earned £17.10s. in grants for the board,² while in Old Cumnock, Science and Art classes held under the 1893 Code earned £15 for each of five teachers.³ On the other hand, elementary instruction still continued. Dalrymple set up an evening school which functioned three times a week, teaching the 3 R's together with book-keeping and Latin. In an attempt to improve attendance, the 5s. fee was returned if 75% attendance was reached.⁴ While it can be argued that from 1893, advanced work was encouraged in evening schools, the condition that such instruction, together with the 3 R's, be confined to part-time pupils over thirteen years of age - i.e. those who could, on passing Standard V, be allowed to work full-time - puts it outwith the normal run of school work. These classes certainly provided a much appreciated service, but their part-time nature separates them from ordinary advanced instruction in Scottish schools.

1 PP 1878 XXX Middleton pp.195-6

2 RCC Ancrum SB Minutes 8/6/1894

3 ACC Old Cumnock SB Minutes 5/9/1899

4 ACC Dalrymple SB Minutes 23/7/1894

Section 1. Advanced instruction in schools supported by local rates.

Grant-earning advanced instruction was paid for under Article 21 of the Code of 1873. These were known as Specific Subjects, and there were originally thirteen of them - mathematics, English language and literature, Latin, Greek, French, German, mechanics, chemistry, animal physiology, light and heat, magnetism and electricity, physical geography, and botany.⁵ The Code of 1875 added domestic economy - for girls - to the list. Gaelic was added in 1888 as part of the new deal for the Highlands and Islands. The Code of 1890 reduced the number of Specific Subjects to seven - mathematics, Latin, Greek, French, German, principles of agriculture and domestic economy - but allowed local boards to add any other approved subject to the list, on condition that science subjects like mechanics or chemistry were taught by experiment. The grand total that year was twenty-two.⁶ Some local boards like Hawick and Muirkirk, took advantage of this concession. The latter board promoted classes in weaving and designing, while the former had classes on mining.⁷ After further changes, including the dropping of Domestic Economy as a compulsory subject for girls, they were abandoned in the Code of 1899.

It is known that government opinion was divided on this matter. The number of changes within the period suggest this. In the 1870's, there was tension between the Board of Education, based in Edinburgh, and the SED, based in London. It was more than local opinion against the centre, however. The whole ethos of Scottish advanced education was being questioned. The Board favoured the traditional "University subjects" - classics and mathematics - together with modern languages, while the Department wished science subjects, like light and heat,

5 Code of 1873 Schedule 4.. All changes in this Schedule are identified by the year of the Code

6 Code of 1890 Schedule 4

7 RCC Hawick SB Minutes 7/9/1899; ACC Muirkirk SB Minutes 25/9/1893

added to the list of Specific Subjects. The argument also touched on the academic v technical education debate. It was resolved in the end with the dissolution of the Board of Education, but the debate over the type of advanced instruction to be offered to Scottish children continued. Why did My Lords agree to the inclusion of Specifics? In the first place, the Specifics were not unique to Scotland. The Minute of 20th February 1867 had introduced payment for 'Specified Subjects' under Article 48 of the English Code.⁸ (Such payments could not go to Scotland at this time because schools there were still paid under the Code of 1860.) The English Code of 1871 had allowed payment for more advanced instruction at 3s per pass on the average attendance of those studying such subjects. The Scotch Code of 1873 allowed 4s per pass, but set higher standards than in England.⁹

The motive for having such instruction at all in elementary schools was rooted in Scottish amour propre. In 1865, HMI Mr Kerr noted,

"The short step between Scottish parochial schools and Scottish universities, and the unbridged gap between English national schools and English universities, explains, I think, satisfactorily the difference between the educational appetites of the two countries ... luxury in education, as in other things, is a relative term."¹⁰

It was this feeling which had produced the storm of protest when the Code of 1864 was introduced. The myth of the 'lad o' pairts' had deep roots. Only one Inspector commented on the "overrated lad o' pairts".¹¹ The Committee of Council bowed before the storm, but the question of the sort of education the new public schools should give was only shelved, not solved. The chance to do away with anomalies came with Young's Act. The Specifics were included in deference to opinion in

8 PP 1867-8 XXV Black p.389

9 T.R. Bone: School Inspection in Scotland, 1840-1966 (1968) p.77

10 PP 1866 XXVII Kerr, p.306

11 PP 1876 XXV Macleod, p.137

the country, which was afraid that the new system would be the Code of 1864 writ large. Inspectors like Kerr, were asked for their advice.¹² The Code of 1873 set up a possible path between school and university and one observer at least believed it was effective:

"We do not read, in the results of the working of the Code, any proof that the standard, or character, of the instruction in the schools under our inspection is being lowered; while the unusual number of scholars who, coming direct from elementary public schools, carried off high prizes in the University of Glasgow, during the past session, is a striking proof of the growing efficiency of the system."¹³

However, as noted above, the SED was perhaps inclined to be biased.

Opinion within the Scottish inspectorate was divided. In 1874 Jolly welcomed the Specifics, while Hall criticised a tendency he had noticed - children were presented in the first stage only, in order to win financial rewards for the school boards.¹⁴ Day echoed Hall's criticisms in the following year; however, both Macleod and Ross merely contented themselves with reporting the situation and made no comment upon it.¹⁵ Muir criticised the unmethodical teaching of Specific Subjects in 1876, and commented that the only school with good results "is largely attended by children of the 'better class'". Ogilvie was less critical, but did oppose the teaching of only stage one, as did Wilson and Stewart.¹⁶ However, it was left to Smith to voice a definite opinion, not on the methods of teaching Specifics, but on the subjects themselves. He seems to have ranged himself with the Board of Education, being in favour of the humanities and against the science subjects - though he did favour domestic economy with practical cookery for girls.¹⁷ Scougal seems to have been the only inspector who was positively enthusiastic about the effect of the Specifics on advanced

12 Bone op cit p.76

13 PP 1878 XXXI Committee of Council p.xiii

14 PP 1875 XXVI Jolly p.57; Hall p.53

15 PP 1876 XXV Day p.131; Macleod p.146; Ross p.161

16 PP 1877 XXXII Muir pp.124-5; Ogilvie p.138; Wilson p.173; Stewart p.184

17 Ibid Smith p.159

education in his part of Scotland.¹⁸ From the evidence of the first few years of Specific Subject teaching in Scottish schools, it is difficult to get a very clear picture of their effect. The inspectors, except for Smith, concentrated more on the methods rather than the subjects themselves. However, it seems that they wanted to see pupils take more than merely the first stage of Specific Subjects. It was felt that there was little educational value in studying a subject for one year only - even if it was profitable for school boards and teachers. The inspectors, except for Scougal, do not seem to have fallen into the trap of thinking that more meant better - it was the quality of advanced education that concerned them. They wanted to see these subjects taught methodically, as only then would they be of educational benefit. It would appear that their views were taken into account in the later 1870's and early 1880's. Rote learning was discouraged.

It is interesting to note that the subjects had, with the possible exception of domestic economy, made compulsory for girls in 1877, a greater slant to the academic side than one might expect. The Board was against 'non-university' subjects like the sciences; the SED had no bias against the traditional subjects of advanced instruction. Those science subjects that were included - (neither physical geography nor mathematics fell into this category) - animal physiology, mechanics, chemistry, light and heat, magnetism and electricity, and botany - were of little immediate practical use. What theory that was learned, was done so by rote and practical experiment was almost nil. The SED may have been concerned about Britain's lag in technology compared with such countries as Germany, but they went about it in the wrong way in the 1870's. The science subjects were taken up, but only because they earned an easy government grant for school board and teacher. It might

18 Ibid Scougal p.152

be correct to suggest that these subjects encouraged children to think scientifically, but judging by the way in which the practical teaching of science was sponsored by HMI's in the '80's,¹⁹ it did not seem to have had this immediate effect. The choice of subjects seems all the more odd when the commercial worries of the time are also considered. One can only conclude that the Code was drawn up by those who, while no doubt highly qualified in the more advanced aspects of science, had little idea of how they would be tackled in an under-equipped school, with a teacher who himself had only a rudimentary grasp of the problems involved. Perhaps also the need to conciliate Scottish educational opinion, biased as Scotland notes²⁰ towards the academic subjects like the classics, helped to produce this unsatisfactory compromise.

In one sense, keeping in mind that before 1872 the teaching of such subjects as book-keeping had not been uncommon, it is possible to see the Code of 1873 as a victory for those who believed that the ultimate goal should be the education and not mere training of working class children. The purity of this motive was, however, doubtful. To HMI of Schools Donald Ross, the object of elementary schools was:

"to bring back a large part of the working classes from the waste and ruin of the public house to the comfort of family life, and to check the swelling of the criminal lists."²¹

Motives are too mixed. It is possible only to say that Specific Subjects were included partly because of tradition; possibly to make education more efficient (an economic depression was troubling the country); and only lastly for the good of the pupils concerned. How did Article 21 work in practice?

19 PP 1881 XXIV Kerr, p.132; PP 1884-5 XXVI Kerr, p.195
PP 1887 XXXII Muir, p.250. etc.etc.

20 J. Scotland: History of Scottish Education, Vol 2 (1969) pp.266-8

21 PP 1876 XXV Ross pp.162-3

The answer must be, unfortunately, very imperfectly. Payment by results had been applied to this, as to most other school subjects, and the outcome was often as critics of the system had feared. Teaching was mechanical, and Specific Subjects were often tackled less for their educational value, than for their power to earn extra money for the school and the teacher. In 1880, HMI Mr Walker criticised the concentration on English and physical geography because in these subjects "the pass is considerably easier".²² Similar views were voiced by Mr Ogilvie in 1881.²³ As a result of differing degrees of difficulty, certain Specific Subjects enjoyed a brief popularity. This was less because either teacher or pupils found them fascinating, and more because the elements could be quite successfully fixed in young minds by rote learning. Hence the vogue for English language and literature: "Two hundred lines of poetry got by heart, with knowledge of meaning and allusions". Animal Physiology was also popular: "The build of the human body. Names and positions of the internal organs. The properties of muscle".²⁴ The 4s grant could be all too easily learned by a pupil with a moderately good memory. The advanced educational value was very low. It was no surprise, therefore, to educationalists when English, somewhat remodelled, became a Class Subject in 1886.

The main flaw in the Code of 1873 was that it allowed for three stages for Specific Subjects, but did not enforce any rule demanding that a pupil complete all three stages of ascending difficulty, before going on to another Specific. Teachers who were paid by percentage pass were all too easily encouraged, therefore, to allow pupils to sit one Specific at stage one in the first year; another again at stage one in the second

22 PP 1881 XXXIV Walker p.149

23 PP 1882 XXV Ogilvie p.148

24 Code of 1873, Schedule 4, Parts 2 and 9, Stage One in each case.

year, and so on. The HMI's were, not unnaturally, incensed by this practice,²⁵ and the result was the Code of 1877 which insisted that a child complete all three stages before he moved on to a new subject. The low numbers passed by Muir occasionally made him unpopular as an inspector - teachers and school boards who took up Specifics in order to gain grants were very upset by Muir's findings, his good educational reasons notwithstanding. One teacher wrote to The Educational News in 1888 asking:

"Can you inform me for what reason the Education Department are continuing Mr Robert James Muir so long (now twelve years) in North Forfarshire? As a teacher in that district, I would be most happy to hear of his removal!"²⁶

It was, however, conceded that a child could go on with one Specific at stage two, and start a new one at stage one. The consequence was once again harmful to education. Teachers had every motivation to push a bright child into more and more Specifics; on the other hand, less able children could be remorselessly pushed on through all the stages of a subject until they left school through sheer boredom as much as anything else. Both these possibilities were of course extremes; many were more fortunate - they did no Specifics at all.

The figures for 1878 show that those taking Specifics had increased from 4,407 in 1874 to 33,777. The figures for the number of schools come from the Parliamentary Report of 1878-9. The other figures, giving the number of those doing Specifics in Ayrshire, Glasgow, Roxburgh and Sutherland, come from SED records held in the Scottish Record Office.²⁷ In both cases, only the figures referring to public

25 PP 1877 XXXII Muir pp.121-124, English literature badly paraphrased; Latin badly taught; Physical Geography disappointing; Mathematics 17% pass because of poor algebra.

26 Bone: op cit, p.139

27 PP 1878-9 XXV Committee of Council Appendix, Part IV pp.322-365 SRO Scottish Education Department, Inquiry into Specific Subjects ED 2/9/10; ED 2/9/11, 36, 37, 57, 58, 62.

schools have been used. Although there are certain discrepancies, in that the HMI's reported only on schools they had inspected in the year up to 31st August, 1878, and the SED reported on schools up to 31st December, 1878, it is still possible to obtain a reasonably clear picture both of the number of schools teaching Specifics, and of the Specifics taught.

Table A

	(A) PS Inspected	(B) PS teaching Specif.	(B) PS teaching Specif.-not presenting	(A) PS - no Specif.
Ayrshire	118	75	23	43
Glasgow	48	35	4	13
Roxburghshire	60	42	8	18
Sutherland	36	19	11	17

It is interesting to note that Ayrshire, often regarded as one of the areas where educational standards were quite high,²⁸ should have so many schools teaching no Specifics at all, and so many schools which did not present pupils, even though Specifics were taught. There are two possible explanations for the latter - either Specifics were new to these schools, which might apply to certain of the rural industrial areas; or too many children who were being taught Specifics left before the time of examination, and hence could not be counted. Jolly talked of children returning to school to be examined, who had left weeks before.²⁹ There is a third possibility, one which, if true, reflected some credit on the teachers - that they did not feel the children were ready for examination, that the rudiments alone were not enough. This, however, is not susceptible to proof. Just under half of those presented in Standard IV and above (33,777 of 70,408) were presented also in Specifics.³⁰ Allowing for those who were presented in Standard V in

²⁸ Boyd op cit p.146

²⁹ PP 1880 XXIV Jolly p.149

³⁰ PP 1878-9 XXV Committee of Council p.xiv

the elementary subjects, merely in order to gain the requisite minimum pass that would enable them to leave school and find work, it seems more likely that teachers presented in Specific Subjects as many children as possible. Stewart's criticism of 1880 bears this out. He believed that the fall in the pass rate for Specifics to 89% compared to 96% in 1876 was due to the practice of teachers presenting whole standards in order to gain money and stop parents from becoming upset.³¹

There were other inducements which encouraged the teaching of Specifics, even where equipment was lacking. A teacher felt it necessary to teach Specifics to "take away from his school the odium of giving nothing but elementary instruction".³² Another source of pressure was the HMI himself. Ogilvie was very much in favour of the Specifics. He noted,

"The schools in which specific subjects were not taken up represent 24 per cent of the total number of children examined, but they are responsible for 35 per cent of the total number of failures."³³

His colleague, Dr Wilson, expressed similar views in the same year:

"all the best schools in my district have introduced the specific subjects more or less into the ordinary work of the school; the absence, therefore, of specific subjects from the time-table of a school, may be fairly held to be indicative of weakness in some part of the school economy."³⁴

These ideas were opposed to those of their colleagues, but as Wilson was one of three senior Inspectors, their views must have had some currency with boards and teachers. Though there is no direct evidence, it seems possible that it was statements like that, that led the SED to send out its Circular of 15th April, 1880.³⁵ This Circular reminded inspectors that they had no right to reduce the grant for ordinary

31 PP 1880 XXIV Stewart p.173

32 PP 1888 XLI Marshall p.248

33 PP 1878-9 XXV Ogilvie, p.181

34 PP 1878-9 XXV Wilson, p.234

35 PP 1880 XXIV, Circular 44

subjects, merely because the local board had not provided equipment and teachers for the teaching of Specifics in at least one of the schools in its district. The educational objectives of Ogilvie and Wilson were praiseworthy; the immediate cost to the rates in hard cash terms seems to have been the more telling argument at the local level.

Although the initial cost was high, quite a number of school boards still took the step into the Specifics. While the motives may have been mixed, there was, as we have seen on page 316, an increase in those children being instructed in the advanced subjects. Both Jolly and Scougal believed that more Specifics were taught, and that they were better taught.³⁶ Even areas which had had reasonable standards of advanced instruction before 1872, showed an increase. These figures refer to Morayshire, part of the Dick Bequest area. The HMI for the region believed the only reason that fewer boys went up to the university was that mercantile pursuits were more attractive.³⁷ The same difficulties applied to male pupil teachers. Smith favoured teaching as a profession for girls, but admitted that it was less attractive to ambitious boys because of the slow social rise of schoolmasters.³⁸ Hall pointed out that commercial employment tempted boys who might otherwise become pupil teachers, and recommended higher salaries to counteract this.³⁹ One school board, Hawick, recognised the problem of mercantile competition for labour, and agreed to pay its male pupil teachers £2 10s more than the government set aside, making their starting salaries £12 10s per annum.⁴⁰ Fewer male university entrants were not the result of decreased teaching of advanced subjects, as the Table below will show.⁴¹

36 PP 1878 XXX Jolly, p.162; PP 1877 XXXII Scougal p.152

37 PP 1878-9 XXV Macleod, p.167

38 PP 1877 XXXII Smith pp.159-60

39 PP 1878 XXX Hall p.150

40 RCC Hawick SB Committee Minutes 18/8/1873

41 PP 1878-9 XXV Macleod, p.167

Table B

Name of School	Kind of School	A	B	C	D	E	F
Achanarrow	-	0	-	0	0	2	-
Advie	-	.75	8	0	2	5	-
Boharm	Parish	.3	30	.16	0	0	2
Burghead	-	.57	7	.5	Unknown	4	-
Cromdale	Parish	.3	20	0	4	4	-
Dallas	Parish	.06	50	.16	Unknown	6	-
Duffus	Parish	.42	7	.3	Unknown	A few	-
Dunphail	-	-	30	0	6	7	-
Dyke	Parish	.23	0	0	5	7	-
Elchies	Parish	.2	30	.16	4	1	-
Fochabers (Milne's Institut.)		2.5	11	4.5	0	0	-
Forres	Parish	1.3	17	.3	20	14	-
Grantown	Parish	1.2	15	2.5	25	13	-
Hopeman	-	.14	7	0	0	1	-
Kinloss	Parish	0	0	.16	10	5	-
Knockando	Parish	0	8	0	5	4	-
Logie	-	.18	11	.16	3	4	-
Rufford	Parish	1.0	0	0	16	7	-
Roths	Parish	.34	29	0	20	26	-
Speymouth	-	0	0	0	0	0	-
St Andrews Lhanbryd	Parish	.5	4	.3	16	14	-
Urquhart	Parish	-	-	.16	Unknown	10	-

A Average No of Boys to College before 1872

B No of Years for Calculation

C Average No to College in past 6 years

D Average No studying University Subjects (Classics, Mathematics) before 1872

E Average No studying University Subjects (Classics, Mathematics) now

F Pupils neglected because of the Code

Macleod commented:

"With the exception of the couple of unfortunate boys at Boharm, it will be seen that no pupils find it impossible to get the old classical education in our schools."⁴²

The numbers who were still taught the 'university' subjects is interesting, because, as the following Table shows, these were not the most popular. This suggests that teachers were willing to teach the subjects which professional opinion⁴³ believed earned grants less easily. Greed was not always the motivation behind the teaching of Specifics, as the following Table illustrates:⁴⁴

⁴² PP 1878-9 XXV Macleod, p.169

⁴³ PP 1874 XX Kerr, p.72; PP 1876 XXV Board of Education p.xxiv; PP 1877 XXXII Stewart, p.184 etc.

⁴⁴ SRO SED Inquiry into Specific Subjects. Year ending 31/12/78. Four areas - Ayrshire, Glasgow, Roxburghshire, Sutherland

Table C

English	4,713
Domestic Economy	4,199
Physical Geography	3,166
Animal Physiology	1,663
Latin	1,567
French	1,348
Mathematics	871
Magnetism & Electricity	505
Chemistry	354
Botany	224
Greek	46
German	34
Light & Heat	8
Mechanics	4

On the whole, however, it can be seen that although teachers did not teach the 'university' subjects as much as they did the others, they were not unwilling to do so. Perhaps the tendency for lads to take up commercial pursuits also undermined the attractiveness of the traditional subjects. While the less popular subjects continued to be taught, it is still clear that the four subjects, which as the inspectors noted, earned grants most easily - English, domestic economy, physical geography, and animal physiology - were at the top of the list. Since all four could be, at least in the first stage, adequately learned by rote, their educational value can be questioned. Perhaps it was not surprising that Latin was in the fifth place in this Table. There does also, however, seem to have been a geographical factor which determined what advanced subjects were studied, as the Table below shows:⁴⁵

⁴⁵ PP 1878-9 XXV Committee of Council pp.xv, xvi. All Scotland. Covers Session 1877-78.

Table D

<u>Subject</u>	<u>Burgh District</u>	<u>Parish District</u>
English	4,121	10,270
Domestic Economy	5,070	10,214
Physical Geography	4,025	7,039
Animal Physiology	2,027	2,557
Latin	1,250	3,689
French	710	1,531
Mathematics	530	1,536
Magnetism & Electricity	385	251
Chemistry	138	28
Botany	178	199
Greek	26	178
German	35	35
Light & Heat	107	18
Mechanics	1	27

Burgh District - 1,477,735

Population: Parish District - 1,822,283

There are two points of interest here. One is the usually greater number of pupils taking Specifics in the parishes than in the towns. The probable explanation is that the former area provided for more middle class children who could not, on account of distance, attend burgh and middle class schools in the towns. This will be dealt with later. The other point is the higher proportion of children - from one half to two thirds as many - in the parishes who studied the 'university' subjects. The difference in population is not enough to account for this. Some of them perhaps were intending ministers who needed Latin for Divinity College. All the same, it is interesting that the converse was true for the new science subjects - more town children studied those than did rural children. The difference between traditional and new subjects is emphasised when we look at mathematics. One would expect to find more urban children studying this, apparently science-biased subject, but the converse was in fact the case; it was one of the traditional university subjects. This was more than a simple arts v science conflict. It may be that town schools, with their greater resources,

were in a better position to buy the expensive equipment needed to study physics and chemistry. On the other hand, a subject like physical geography was all too often taught happily from a book; the same applied to domestic science. How are we to account for the fact that more country than city boys studied mechanics? (All the boys studying mechanics in Table C came from the small town of Dornoch.) It seems likely that the pull of the traditional subjects in the more conservative rural areas accounted for the difference.

As the years went by, however, the HMI's found that the old pattern was changing. This had something to do with the gradual retiral of the 'old parochials', many of whom were university trained, and their replacement by teachers from the training colleges. But this was not the whole story. Teachers did notice that it was possible to get higher and more certain grants for Specifics if they concentrated on scientific subjects which could be more easily learned by rote. The SED also took note and wondered whether more credit should go to language rather than scientific subjects:

"When, but not until the instruction, in other subjects than ancient languages and mathematics ... has become more general and more advanced, it may be advisable to increase the requirements of the Code so as to place the standard as well as the payment for every subject on an equal footing."⁴⁶

This quotation suggests, in the clearest possible terms, that the Department knew that the science subjects and English earned grants more easily, but was prepared to put up with this because of "social and industrial change".⁴⁷

On the other hand, instruction in languages was not itself free from the perils of rote learning. HMI's fulminated about the iniquities of teachers who taught their pupils long lists of irregular verbs and

46 PP 1878 XXXI Committee of Council, p.xiv

47 PP 1878 XXXI Committee of Council, p.xiv

called their efforts French teaching.⁴⁸ One inspector (Whyte) as late as 1888 criticised the tendency "to treat French and German as dead languages".⁴⁹ It was on the HMI's that the full burden fell, of administering grants earned by Specifics of varying degrees of difficulty. It seems that they were not entirely successful, at least in the eyes of the Department. The officials at Dover House (headquarters of the SED) tried to avoid criticism of Circular 41, which defined the duties of the three Senior HMI's - Hall, Kerr, and Wilson - and noted that they were supposed to help new recruits to the inspectorate, not to dictate to their colleagues. The real substance of the Circular came in the second part, however:

"their Lordships desire also to secure as much uniformity as possible in the standard of examination of schools in the same class, in order that the Parliamentary grant may be fairly administered; and, at the same time to satisfy school boards and school managers ... that the results of their efforts are judged and criticised on principles which are founded on official experience and long acquaintance with schools."⁵⁰

As Bone has shown, this warning was necessary also because Dey in particular had shown that the inspectorate did apparently have different standards when assessing classes. Since many were forceful individuals, this was hardly surprising; Dey's sin was also to be personally unpleasant to the teachers in his district, even going so far as to inspect some schools "without acknowledging the existence of the teachers".⁵¹ The Department wanted inspectors not only to be just, but to be seen to be just.

By the '80's, it could be seen that the Specifics held an important place in the elementary schools. On occasion, the teaching of the Specifics became a sort of status symbol for teachers. Kerr

48 PP 1875 XXVI Barrie p.39; PP 1881 XXXIV Macleod p.141; PP 1886 XXVII Wilson p.169 - Latin

49 PP 1889 XXXII Whyte p.278

50 PP 1878-9 XXV Scotch Education Department Circular 41

51 Bone op cit pp.103-104

deplored the teaching of these subjects merely because of,

"a mistaken notion that the teacher will otherwise lose the favour of the board."⁵²

Hall was even more critical. He spoke of Specific Subject papers which were "brimful of absurdity".⁵³ Yet many teachers did have some excuse for this practice. Most, probably the majority at this time, were not paid a fixed salary but got a proportion of the grant earned by the school. This system was deplored by the HMI's,⁵⁴ but took a long time to die out. The Specifics offered the opportunity of extra grant for the school, and hence a higher salary for the teacher. "An irrational tendency to economise, aggravated by the present commercial depression"⁵⁵ did nothing to help. One teacher was even dismissed in the interests of economy.⁵⁶ It was all the more important for those teachers who retained their jobs to teach as many of the profitable Specific Subjects as possible. For this, they needed a good supply of eager pupils - or, at least, of pupils whose parents were willing to see that their children got as good an education as possible, and for as long as possible. How many were in that position in the Scottish elementary schools of the late '70's?

The apparent answer is, not very many. The second part of the questionnaire sent out by the SED in 1878 dealt, among other things, with the approximate social class of children studying Specifics.⁵⁷ The reason for this seems to have been that the Act of 1872 laid down that education was for the "whole people" of Scotland, and this survey was as convenient a way as any of discovering the social origins of those children who were able to study more than the bare 3 R's. Note the numbers of pupil teachers; that was certainly one way to gain advanced instruction.

52 PP 1881 XXXIV Kerr p.132

53 PP 1880 XXIV Hall p.130

54 PP 1880 XXIV Smith p.163

55 PP 1880 XXIV Smith p.161-2

56 RCC Lilliesleaf SB Minutes 29/5/1885

57 SRO SED, Inquiry into Specific Subjects ED 2/9/10; ED 2/9/11, 36, 37, 57, 58, 62.

	Ayrshire	Glasgow	Roxburghshire	Sutherland
Pupil Teachers	11	6	1	1
Upper Class	2	-	-	-
Professional/)				
Commercial/)	10	18	4	2
Middle Class)				
Lower Middle/Artisan	16	18	7	-
Working Class	3	1	-	2

The figures are of course incomplete, since many teachers perhaps felt reluctant to give this information, even supposing that they knew it.

One thing is clear. Those studying the Specific Subjects were not likely to come from the manual working class. Macleod was all too accurate when he remarked in 1875 that "the diffusion of intelligence among the masses is a slow process".⁵⁸ Perhaps Walker's comment gave one of the reasons:

"in former days there was a Latin class in the parish school mainly because the laird's son and the minister's son, who were among the scholars, had to get Latin to prepare them for the University ... Now the minister's son and the laird's son do not go to the parish school; they are sent to Edinburgh and Glasgow or further afield, and the cottar's son loses his chance of being ... pushed on to the University."⁵⁹

Even with the Specifics, as we have seen, the cottar's son was still precluded, perhaps by economic necessity, from studying the advanced subjects. It was not that the teachers were too busy with middle class children to teach these subjects to working class children. If Smith was correct, the result of the Act was:

"the necessary social demoralisation of our cheap national schools in consequence of the immigration of the lowest class of children. Middle class schools are a necessary outgrowth of the Act."⁶⁰

In general, middle class children did not attend board schools. Social segregation was quite acceptable in the later nineteenth century.

58 PP 1876 XXV Macleod p.138

59 PP 1878 XXXI Walker p.204

60 PP 1877 XXXII Smith p.156

Even school boards practised forms of social separation.

Glasgow school board operated a policy of differential fee-charging which went some way to avoid mixing of social classes within board schools. Roxburgh states that:

"The principle on which the Board worked was that within every district of the city schools should be available at fees which were adjusted to suit the different income groups among parents."⁶¹

As a result, Glenpark school charged 2d to 4d a week, but only two blocks away Thomson Street school charged 3s 6d to 4s 6d a month.⁶²

Fees like those charged in the latter school would certainly keep out the lowest class of children referred to by Smith. The distinction between weekly and monthly payment is also important. The better-off could afford to pay the monthly sum. The other board school records studied in detail do not seem to have had quite such marked fee variations. Nevertheless, despite what Roxburgh says about Glasgow's unique position in charging differential fees, there is evidence that at least one other burgh school board also followed this practice. In Kelso in 1888 a deputation of ratepayers complained about the different fees charged in the board's schools. However, they got no satisfaction, being told only that all the board's schools charged fees well under the 9d weekly maximum.⁶³ Strangely enough, the other Roxburgh burgh, Hawick, though far more heavily industrialised than Kelso, and hence producing more social extremes, decided in 1873 to charge the same fee in all its schools.⁶⁴ The burgh did however contain a large private Academy, Teviot Grove, with an average attendance of 154, which perhaps dealt with those parents requiring social exclusiveness. This solution was not open to Kelso parents, where private schools were mostly of the same

61 J.M. Roxburgh: The School Board of Glasgow (1971) p.151

62 Ibid p.151

63 RCC Kelso SB Minutes 22/8/1888

64 RCC Hawick SB Minutes 18/8/1873

variety, or very small.⁶⁵ The only exception, the High School, built in 1877-78, had boarding accommodation.⁶⁶ In Old Cumnock the situation was somewhat different; fees varied, but between the burgh and the landward parts of the parish. Hence the parish school fee was 4½d weekly, whereas the fees at rural Garallan school were 3d weekly.⁶⁷ Certainly there is no evidence of overt social exclusion in this school board area. Nevertheless it is interesting that the board was quite prepared to spend £4000 on building a new parish school, but it complained that the SED standards for the teacher's house at Garallan were too lavish.⁶⁸ To conclude, it would seem that burgh school boards did have some internal school grading. In none was it as marked as in Glasgow, but it did nonetheless exist. The inspectors noticed differences of standard as well. Ogilvie suggested that reading was better in higher class private schools, because children there heard the best models.⁶⁹ Kerr agreed with this opinion,⁷⁰ while Wilson believed that compulsory education "perceptibly lowers the general intelligence of the school".⁷¹ It cannot be denied that some urban school boards did practise some form of social exclusion and that a differing system of schools did grow up with different examination results.

This does not, however, seem to have been the case in more rural school board districts. No evidence was found there of differential fees being charged in board schools. It may have been that the situation in these boards was rather like that of Hawick - that enough non-board accommodation existed either within the district or nearby to

65 RCC Kelso SB Minutes 4/6/1873

66 Ibid 4/4/1877

67 ACC Old Cumnock SB Minutes 1/5/1873

68 Ibid 24/12/1874; 16/7/1874

69 PP 1878-9 XXV Ogilvie p.176

70 PP 1878 XXX Kerr p.178

71 PP 1878-9 XXV Wilson p.230

satisfy any parental urge to social exclusiveness. There is evidence from St Quivox, just outside Ayr, that this was what happened with some children.⁷² However, this could not apply to the more isolated parishes, outwith easy access to burgh or other schools. There is reason to believe that certainly many of the lower middle class, and even middle class, did not flee the board schools. Even in Glasgow, Scotland's largest city, the aspirations of this group could be satisfied within the board system. There is further evidence for this from another source. The administrators of SSPCK funds after 1872 (used after that date for the promotion of secondary education among the working class), found that on occasion they had to refuse a bursary because the recipient was the child of a minister or teacher, which was not the class they were intended for.⁷³

It seems likely that Macleod was thinking of the mythical golden era of Scottish education when he wrote:

"The feelings of the people as well as their understandings, are on the side of good government, which results from the absence of those sharp lines of demarcation which separate the several grades of society in other countries; and this again is largely, if not entirely, the result of the bridge across which so many youths passed yearly from the common schools to the universities ... In the hour of difficulty he does not harangue his fellow citizens upon the wrongs of his class, nor promise them a golden era by upsetting the social order."⁷⁴

Matters were not so perfect as Macleod suggested, though of course we should not forget that the possibility of advance through education was there, and doubtless acted as a social safety valve. Smith was more realistic when he wrote in the following year:

"If a sufficient number of parents are prepared to pay liberally for a little social exclusion, it is only fair that they should have it if at all possible."⁷⁵

72 ACC St Quivox SB Minutes 26/4/1883

73 SRO GD/95/9/13 SSPCK Records. 1877 Report - three sons of Established Church ministers, one son of Free Church minister; 1878 Report - son of teacher.

74 PP 1878-9 XXV Macleod p.166

75 PP 1880 XXIV Smith p.157

His area included Glasgow at this time, and it has been shown that that is exactly what happened there. It was attitudes like this which kept the higher class public schools going after 1872.

Section 2. The Public Higher Class Schools of Scotland up to 1892

The Act of 1872 allowed the old burgh schools to be transferred into the public school system.⁷⁶ They were different both in purpose^r and organisation from the elementary schools set up by the Act. While the elementary schools as we have seen, did teach some of the more advanced subjects in their curricula, the old burgh schools were organised deliberately with a view to teaching these subjects almost exclusively.⁷⁷ How did such schools fit into the system organised for the elementary schooling of the bulk of Scottish children?

One writer described these schools as the step-children of the school boards.⁷⁸ This was underlined in organisational terms by the fact that they could not participate in the local rate fund; nor, since their instruction was not mainly elementary, could they earn government grants. The reason for their exclusion from the rate fund was that they were considered to have sufficient endowment already not to need rate aid. They still continued to benefit from burgh Common Good funds.⁷⁹ Many limped along, sustained only by the grants from the Science and Art Department in South Kensington.⁸⁰ Matters should have been somewhat improved by the Act of 1878, Section 18 of which allowed school boards to maintain the fabric of these schools and to pay from the rates any other deficits incurred in the running of these

76 Education (Scotland) Act 1872 Section 24

77 Ibid, Section 62

78 J. Kerr: Scottish Education, School and University from early times to 1908 (1913) p.301

79 J. Strong: A History of Secondary Education in Scotland (1909) pp.203-4. However, the total endowment was only £16,550, which as Strong says, was totally inadequate for the purpose.

80 Boyd op cit p.186 - Kilmarnock

schools. Only teachers' salaries were excluded.⁸¹ From a financial point of view, this was most unsatisfactory, since teachers' salaries were much the largest item of annually recurring expenditure. Fees had to cover this expense. The result was that fees in those schools were raised considerably, thus putting them beyond the reach of working class children.⁸² Furthermore, there were, as Bone says, obstacles in the way of putting the Act of 1878 into operation,⁸³ and the provisions of the 1882 Educational Endowments Act were only gradually enforced. The main problem was school board parsimony. Boards felt that they drew quite heavily enough on the ratepayers' pockets for the elementary education they were obliged to provide; to add the maintenance of schools not strictly necessary for elementary provision, was considered to be unjustifiable. Since this was in any case a period when school boards were pruning their spending even on elementary education, it is hardly surprising that the higher class public schools were so neglected. According to the Third Report of the Parker Committee in 1888, some of the smaller burgh schools were being "starved" because the rates were grudged.⁸⁴ The reorganisation of school endowments had meant that the old Hospital schools became fee-paying day schools, concentrating upon advanced instruction. The pitiful state of the smaller burgh schools was all the more clearly exposed in contrast. Furthermore, it would seem that opinion within Scotland was also changing. In 1876, the Rev J. Black, Professor of Humanity at Aberdeen University and Chairman of Aberdeen school board, suggested that the higher class public schools should have rate aid - he gave as his reason that the

81 A.C. Sellar: Manual of the Education Acts of Scotland (1894) pp.242-3. Case 185 - Aberdeen School Board

82 Boyd op cit p.183. Cited from J. Grant, History of the Burgh Schools of Scotland p.465; Roxburgh op cit p.163
PP 1875 XXVI Board of Education p.xxxiv

83 T.R. Bone: School Inspection in Scotland 1840-1966 (1968) p.81

84 PP 1888 XLI Third Report of Parker Committee p.v

rich paid taxes and so should have a part in higher education.⁸⁵ In a similar vein, Sir John Neilson Cuthbertson, Chairman of Glasgow school board wrote that: "The bulk of the rates is paid by the well-to-do classes" and that they should get something for their children too.⁸⁶ Finally Charles Parker, MP, who gave his name to the 1888 Committee on Secondary Education, told the Association of Teachers in Secondary Schools in Scotland that the wealthier classes, who paid most in rates should have a "fair share of the higher education so provided".⁸⁷ There were, of course, some opposing voices. A few members of Glasgow Trades Council rather shortsightedly resented rates being spent on education for what they believed was a limited group in the community, but they were defeated on a vote in the Trades Council.⁸⁸ The Parker Committee went some way, however, to calm opposition fears by deliberately denying that secondary education was merely charity for the rich.⁸⁹

On the other hand, it does seem that many working class children were indeed denied a share in secondary education. One reason, already mentioned, was the level of fees. Another reason was that too many intelligent working class children left school once they had passed Standard V; family necessity, and sometimes the greed of the parents, dictated this course of action. This was one result of setting school leaving dependent on passing an examination rather than on age alone. Nevertheless, this early leaving need not be total educational disaster for the children concerned. Evening Continuation Classes, mentioned at the beginning of this Chapter, catered for children who wished to continue their studies. The Parker Committee found that owing to the desire of many working class families for higher education, these Classes were very popular in Glasgow.⁹⁰ Where rural children were concerned,

85 Edinburgh University Pamphlets O.S.3704/4/13, Black 1876 pp.20-21
 86 Edinburgh University Pamphlets O.S.3704/3/6, Cuthbertson 1887 p.10
 87 Edinburgh University Pamphlets O.S.3704/3/19, Parker 1888 p.17
 88 Mitchell Library, Glasgow United Trades Council Minutes 22/2/1888
 89 PP 1888 XLI Third Report of Parker Committee p.x
 90 Ibid p.xv

there was a further handicap; many of them lived too far from a burgh school giving advanced instruction to benefit from it. Even Evening Classes were subject to permission from the school board. Auchinleck school board was only prepared to allow such a class at Duncommen if it was self-supporting.⁹¹ One board, Kirkoswald, certainly not marked for its concern for education, decided against an Evening Continuation Class at Townhead because there was no demand or need for it.⁹² Yet four months earlier they had been in receipt of a petition for just such a class at Maidens in the parish.⁹³ There could at times be a divergence between theory and practice with regard to advanced instruction. It was no wonder that the Department believed that the Specifics were necessary:

"We do not believe that such instruction supplies the place of secondary schools; but so long as such schools are not available for every boy and girl of promise throughout Scotland - and we fear that with every effort this may be the case for a considerable time to come - we think the Specific Subject grant will be the means of much good and we should deem its disappearance from the Code to be a matter of deep regret."⁹⁴

The Department was prepared to back this sentiment with cash. The Code of 1886 offered a largely increased grant (10s instead of 4s) for passes in Specific Subjects in schools taught by a graduate in Arts or Science. The inspectors noticed the improvement.⁹⁵ The boards themselves paid much more attention to teacher qualifications as a result. Hence in Creich, there was an unusual split in the board because the graduate applicant for the post of teacher at Invershin school was not chosen.⁹⁶ It was felt that secondary education should be promoted by all the means available locally in order that working class children could get a share in advanced instruction.

91 ACC Auchinleck SB Minutes 13/9/1888

92 ACC Kirkoswald SB Minutes 27/10/1894

93 Ibid 21/6/1894

94 PP 1887 XXXII Committee of Council p.xvi

95 PP 1890 XXXI Stewart pp.282, 289.

96 SCC Creich SB Minutes 16/2/1897

This consideration had much weight when it is remembered that in 1873, there were only eleven burgh schools. They grew only slowly in numbers; in 1876 there were sixteen with the addition that year of two more schools, Hamilton Academy and Bonnington Park (Peebles). These additions were made under Section 62, 6, of the 1872 Act, which allowed school boards to change the status of any one of their elementary schools into a higher class public school, as long as they gave notice of this to the Board of Education (later the Department). By 1886, there were nineteen such schools. Clearly, the boards were not very enthusiastic about this section of education, even after the inducements of the 1878 and 1882 Acts. For how many children did these schools cater? For purposes of comparison, the figures from the 1878 Report of the Board of Education have been used.

At the time of that Report, there were seventeen Higher Class Public schools in the towns of: Aberdeen, Ayr, Dumfries, Edinburgh, Elgin, Glasgow, Haddington, Montrose, Paisley, Perth, Stirling, Dunfermline, Hamilton, Irvine, Peebles, Arbroath and Leith. With the exception of Elgin, it will be noticed that all were in the southern half of Scotland. One, Haddington, was still unopened because of some dispute. There were 3,770 children on the roll of the sixteen schools and the average attendance was 3,468, which was a better percentage (91.8) than was usual in elementary schools under the local boards. In 1878, there were 472,668 pupils on school rolls, and an average attendance of 360,413, giving an average percentage attendance in all inspected schools of 76%. Twelve of the sixteen schools were mixed. The number of pupils studying advanced subjects was as follows: Latin 2,177; Greek 531; French 1,693; mathematics 686; German 684.⁹⁷ These were not the only subjects studied at higher class public schools, but only the grant-earning ones.

In 1880, Glasgow High School also offered classes in fencing and gymnastics.⁹⁸ Nevertheless, the numbers studying grant-earning advanced subjects in the elementary public schools, were much higher than those in the higher class public schools. There were 1,457 schools teaching the Specifics in 1877:⁹⁹

English Literature	16,505
Physical Geography	14,237
Latin	10,430
French	6,627
Mathematics	4,326
Animal Physiology	5,400
Magnetism & Electricity	979
Greek	623
Botany	675
German	329
Chemistry	322
Mechanics	77
Light & Heat	68

While numbers were low at higher class public schools, the figures are significant. These schools were proportionately much more enthusiastic about the teaching of modern languages than were the elementary schools. By and large, the pupils at the former schools were older, and better able to cope with the intricacies of foreign grammar. Add to that the fact that many of these pupils came from the mercantile section of the community - their parents were too proud to send their children to the elementary schools, but not wealthy enough to send their sons to 'public schools' - and the reason for the concentration on modern languages becomes clear. Some boards, like Edinburgh, made a deliberate attempt to organise a 'modern' side to the curriculum. Hence there was more systematic teaching of modern languages and science subjects.¹⁰⁰ This was not general in all higher class public schools, but it did help those pupils who could be expected to go into business after they had spent three or four years at these subjects.

98 GCA Glasgow SB Minutes 12/1/1880
 99 PP 1878 XX Board of Education p.xxi
 100 Strong op cit p.187

Such schools were clearly marked out for the middle class. Kerr suggests

"that insufficient provision was made for the poor or middle-class man of moderate means, who, though contributing largely to education rates, and aiming at higher education for his son, was obliged to be content with what could be got at a primary school."¹⁰¹

Some attempt to meet this need was met by the reorganisation of endowments in 1882, which applied these to the promotion of secondary education particularly suited to the above group. This was emphasised by the Leaving Certificate examination which was introduced in 1888, "to set a goal and standards for secondary education".¹⁰² From this examination, the elementary board schools were excluded, though the endowed, private and higher class board schools were permitted to compete. The first Leaving Certificate examination involved 972 candidates from twenty nine schools (including twenty two higher class public schools), who sat 4,300 papers.¹⁰³ There were eleven separate papers: English, Latin, Greek, French, German, mathematics (including arithmetic), arithmetic, geometrical conics, analytical geometry, dynamics, and differential calculus. Once more, the academic slant to secondary education was obvious. Craik made strenuous efforts to see that the Leaving Certificate was acceptable to the Universities - Papers in Latin, Greek and mathematics were to be submitted prior to the examination, to the Professors of these subjects at Edinburgh and Glasgow Universities. Only thus could University recognition be gained.¹⁰⁴

Protests arose, however. The Senates of the four Scottish universities complained because board schools were excluded from the Leaving Examination,¹⁰⁵ and the SED was sufficiently worried to mention this in

101 J. Kerr: Scottish Education (1910) pp.311-312

102 T.R. Bone: School Inspection in Scotland 1840-1966 (1968) p.120

103 PP 1888 XLI Committee of Council p.xliii, Table 10

104 T.B. Dobie: 'The Scottish Leaving Certificate, 1888-1908', in T.R. Bone: Studies in the History of Scottish Education, 1872-1939 (editor) (1967) p.151

105 Ibid p.152

its Report in 1889.¹⁰⁶ In 1892, the Department bowed to public opinion, and allowed candidates from the elementary board schools to compete. Having got this right, the schools were rather slow to respond, mostly because they had so few older pupils. Roxburgh points out that even in Glasgow's Garnethill school, well-known for its scholastic successes, 96% in 1888 were doing Standard work, and only 250 from a roll of 1300 were taking one or more Specific subjects.¹⁰⁷ In 1898, 680 schools presented candidates for the Leaving Certificate, which compared favourably with the situation ten years before, when only 29 schools took part. However, 282 of these schools presented only their pupil teachers for the Leaving Certificate, suggesting that early leaving still plagued board schools.¹⁰⁸ Of the four burghs studied in detail to 1899, only Glasgow and Hawick presented candidates for the Leaving Certificate, and in the latter case, only pupil teachers were presented.¹⁰⁹ It seems that only a city as large as Glasgow could gather enough candidates to make a worthwhile presentation. In 1894, 955 candidates were presented for the Leaving Certificate. They came not only from Glasgow's Higher Class Public School, the High School, but also from Garnethill, Woodside, Kent Road, Whitehill, City, and John Street schools.¹¹⁰ In general, however, it was clear that some other certificate would have to be introduced for the bulk of senior Scottish pupils, who left early.

For pupils from board and other schools who wished some sort of certificate, but who did not wish to remain for the length of time necessary for a Leaving Certificate, a Merit Certificate was introduced.¹¹¹

106 PP 1889 XXXII Committee of Council p.xxviii

107 Roxburgh *op cit* p.140 108 PP 1900 XXIV Committee of Council p.403

109 RCC Hawick SB Minutes 28/6/1898 110 GCA Glasgow SB Minutes 21/5/1894

111 Code of 1892, Article 29, Pupils had to be over 13 years of age. They had to be proficient in all the 3R's; 2 Class Subjects; and all 3 stages of 1 Specific Subject.

The Code of 1893 changed the requirements to the 3R's; at least 2 Class Subjects; and all 3 stages of 1 Specific Subject or 2 stages of 2 Specific Subjects.

In 1898, the Specifics were dropped from the Merit Certificate, and it became the qualification for entering a post-primary course. The age was lowered to 12.

This was a popular move, and soon school boards were recording with pride the Merit Certificates gained. In 1895 a Castleton pupil gained a Merit Certificate.¹¹² Hobkirk and Lilliesleaf also noted with pleasure those pupils gaining these Certificates.¹¹³ In general, however, numbers were few - only one a year usually - though Lilliesleaf was an exception with three in 1895, and six in 1898.¹¹⁴ All too few children, for reasons discussed earlier, were able to stay on at school sufficiently long to take even the Merit Certificate. It still seemed as if secondary education was divided along class or rather, economic, lines. The last section will deal with this question, and with the increasing aid given by the government to secondary education.

Section 3. Secondary Education and the Working Class: the 1890's.

Three different pieces of legislation formed government attitudes to working class secondary education in Scotland. The first was the Local Government (Scotland) Act of 1889, which released part of the Probate Duty Grant to be used by Scotland to provide free education within the Standards below Standard III and with reduction in fees in Standards IV and V. With legislation freeing English education in 1891, the Scots demanded further government aid. (The English had not used the Probate Duty Grant for free education, but for reduction of rates.) This was given by the 1892 Education and Local Taxation Account (Scotland) Act. This set up County Committees to administer the so-called Equivalent Grant for the purposes of secondary education. Technical education was encouraged by the Technical Schools (Scotland) Act of 1887, "passed in consequence of the urgent demand for technical instruction,

112 RCC Castleton SB Minutes 18/7/1895

113 RCC Hobkirk SB Minutes 14/5/1898; Lilliesleaf SB Minutes 31/7/1894

114 RCC Lilliesleaf SB Minutes 31/7/1895; 31/7/1898.

especially among the working classes".¹¹⁵ The last mentioned Act was permissive, not mandatory.

One reason for the Technical Schools Act has already been given. There were other influences which also affected commercial education in the higher class schools. Stewart pointed out the need for some sort of technical education - "many branches of our industries are flooded with well-trained foreigners".¹¹⁶ Professor Blackie added his voice to the pleas for commercial education.¹¹⁷ Other bodies also informed the SED of their interests.¹¹⁸ All this suggested some discontent with an educational system which some believed erred towards sterile academicism on the one hand; and was guilty of inculcating only the rudiments of literacy on the other. The truth lay somewhere in between. How did secondary education fare in the rapidly-changing educational climate of the '90's?

The County Committees were left with wide discretionary powers as to how they administered the grants for secondary education.¹¹⁹ In 1895, in Ayrshire, there were grants to higher class public schools in burghs like Irvine and capitation grants to the board for ex-Standard pupils receiving secondary education. As an example of how this worked, in Old Cumnock in 1894, the board received for secondary education £296 in all.¹²⁰ This was made up of a grant of £50 for the support of a Secondary Central school - Old Cumnock Public School drew not only on its own district, but also on the surrounding parishes for secondary pupils and this prevented unseemly inter-board wrangles over support for these children; £96 came from a £2 capitation grant for pupils in average attendance in Standard VI; the remaining £150 was for the support of ten free places for secondary education in the school.

¹¹⁵ Sellar op cit p.124

¹¹⁶ PP 1888 XLI Stewart p.210

¹¹⁷ W.G. Blackie: Commercial Education; an Address delivered to the Glasgow local association of the Educational Institute of Scotland on the 17th March, 1888 (Glasgow, 1888)

¹¹⁸ SRO ED 7/1/10/1. Papers on Commercial and Technical Education. City and Guilds of London Institute to Henry Craik, 27/11/1897; Charles Sarolea to Henry Craik, 29/1/1900

¹¹⁹ PP 1894 XXXI, Committee of Council, Minute of 9/7/94

Glasgow allowed £2,200 for 150 free scholarships in the upper departments of five elementary schools, and seven other schools, including the High School, and St Mungo's, a Catholic secondary school, also received free scholarships. Roxburgh gave money to higher class schools in Hawick and Kelso; capitation grants of £1 per head on the average attendance of scholars in such schools; and travelling expenses to rural children.¹²¹ These grants certainly encouraged secondary education. The rise of this in Hawick is an interesting story. It did not always run smoothly, but met various problems as they arose. The board split in 1893 over the taking over of a private school, Teviot Grove Academy, for secondary education.¹²² Eventually this was allowed by the SED, and approximately 113 ex-Standard VI children moved over to Teviot Grove for secondary education.¹²³ As a result, the board now had two departments for children over ten. The Junior Department contained 10-13 year olds or those who had a pass in Standard IV; the Senior included those who were over 13, or had passed Standard VI.¹²⁴ Already the board was encouraging a split among its older pupils. By 1896, the board was worrying because rural pupils found it difficult to get into Teviot Grove - their local schools could not instruct them up to Standard VI - and it was agreed to waive this rule in their case if they seemed to be capable of benefitting from advanced instruction.¹²⁵ In an attempt to encourage children to stay on at school, it was agreed that pupils who had passed Standard VI were to be exempt from fee payments at Teviot Grove if they completed at least one full session there.¹²⁶ Merely to grant money was not sufficient to produce an efficient system of secondary instruction. Other factors had

121 PP 1895 XXX Committee of Council, pp.xli-lviii

122 RCC Hawick SB Minutes 26/9/93

123 Ibid 22/1/1895; 26/2/1895

124 Ibid 26/12/1894

125 Ibid 27/10/1896

126 Ibid 30/6/1897

also to be taken into account. Sutherland had no central school, but offered £25 to each school giving ex-Standard instruction and a further capitation grant for ex-Standard VI scholars.¹²⁷ Day explained the difficulties faced by secondary education in Sutherland and the crofting counties. Because the County Secondary and Technical grants were in proportion to population, only £5,821 of £57,000 went to the seven crofting counties in 1894.¹²⁸ The sum was not sufficient, even after 1902, to send one child per school per year to schools giving secondary instruction in the area - the great distance involved often necessitated boarding.¹²⁹ It would seem that different areas required different methods of dealing with the problems of providing secondary instruction.

Towards the end of the decade, however, some disquiet was expressed at the wide local variations. Article 10 of the Minute of 10/6/97,¹³⁰ forbade payments for Specific Subjects unless in stage three. Article 21 refused any grants for secondary education unless the buildings and equipment were suitable. Craik noted in the following year:

"The premises of the higher schools do not compare favourably with those of elementary schools; the standard of which in recent years has been greatly raised."¹³¹

At least one county, Roxburgh, spent part of its County grant to provide equipment and improve buildings used for secondary work.¹³² However, it was not only poor buildings and divergent local approaches to secondary education that worried the Department. The whole emphasis of secondary instruction had changed. Specifics had seldom, perhaps, been studied for their intrinsic educational value. Their main reason for existence had been to provide a bridge between elementary school and

127 PP 1895 XXX Committee of Council pp.xli-lviii

128 J.P. Day: Public Administration in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland (1918) p.165

129 Ibid p.169

130 PP 1897 LXXI Committee of Council, Minute of 10/6/97, Article 10.

131 PP 1898 XXIX Craik p.4

132 PP 1896 XXIX Committee of Council p.49

university. By 1899, over and above the "tops" of elementary schools, there were Junior and Senior Departments under school boards; there were higher class public schools deliberately set up to teach mainly advanced subjects; over and above these, there were various endowed institutions and private academies. It was hardly surprising that mere teaching of Specific Subjects did not produce a heterogeneous secondary system. Merit Certificates were introduced, mainly in board schools, to produce some sort of order in the lower levels of advanced instruction. Craik noted with apparent equanimity the effect of the Leaving Certificate:

"It is quite clear that the examination now powerfully influences the teaching in Scottish schools."¹³³

At the very least, the Leaving Certificate presented a common goal for secondary teaching.

It was perhaps inevitable that the Code of 1899 should have introduced such sweeping changes. The '90's seem to have exhibited the same symptoms of near-chaos in secondary education as did the '60's in elementary education. It may well be that this was in fact a good sign; it showed that Scottish education was healthy and thriving. All the same, the Department found it an administrative nightmare. The transfer of the Science and Art Department in 1897 did nothing to make the situation any less unwieldy.¹³⁴

By 1898, the Department was responsible for what was a tripartite system of secondary education. First came the elementary schools with their 'top' of Specific Subjects. As mentioned earlier, these had proliferated in number in the '90's owing to the desire of the Department to allow as much freedom as possible to local boards in the encouragement of local commerce and industry. Woollen manufacture was one Specific so recognised.¹³⁵ The position of the higher class public schools was

133 PP 1898 XXIX Craik p.8

134 PP 1897 XXIX Committee of Council, Circular of 10/6/97

135 Bone: School Inspection p.144

equally anomalous. They could not share in the rates, but did receive, like the higher Standards of some elementary schools, grants from the County Education Committees. They also provided, by means of bursaries, for pupils who had come from the public schools after passing either the Merit Certificate or Standard VI, or some comparable qualification.¹³⁶ There were also the endowed and private schools, some of which had received grants from the Science and Art Department. The Code of 1899 swept away this tangle of organisations.

Article 19 of the 1899 Code offered grants based almost entirely on average attendance - this meant that inspection of individuals came to an end.¹³⁷ At least one school board greeted this with a degree of relief. The St Quivox board noted that grants were no longer dependent on inspection.¹³⁸ However the reform of elementary education meant new responsibilities. The minute of St Quivox noted that history, drawing, drill and nature knowledge were now "to be taught Compulsorily" [sic] and that the grant would therefore increase. However, extra sets of books had now to be provided by the board.¹³⁹ Other boards seem to have been less willing to face up to their new responsibilities. Lilliesleaf board knew that girls now had to have practical training in cooking and laundry, but though the teacher favoured this, the board did nothing because it would need extra accommodation.¹⁴⁰ Hobkirk took a similar decision, but did at least provide illustrated botany sheets for nature study.¹⁴¹ The organisation of post-elementary education was also reformed. Advanced Departments were set up for those who would leave at fourteen, with entrance qualification the possession of the Merit Certificate.¹⁴² These were unpopular from the start, and

136 RCC Hawick SB Minutes, 27/10/96, Teviot Grove Academy

137 Code of 1899, Article 19 B 1: 18s for children under 7; 20s for 7-10 year olds; 22s for 10+ who have no Merit Certificate

138 ACC St Quivox SB Minutes 3/4/1900

139 Ibid 17/5/1900

140 RCC Lilliesleaf SB Minutes 5/5/1900

141 RCC Hobkirk SB Minutes 21/5/1900

142 Code of 1899 Article 21. Grant per pupil 50s.

many pupils went into Higher Grade schools even though they had no intention of staying at school after the age of fourteen.¹⁴³ Those children who could not get a Merit Certificate were kept grinding on until they either passed, too late to benefit from any secondary education, or left school at fourteen with joyful relief. Higher Grade Departments for those intending to leave at fifteen or later were also set up.¹⁴⁴ Finally, a fixed curriculum of elementary instruction was worked out¹⁴⁵ and the Specifics disappeared. Clearly, the Code of 1899 brought changes, not all of them popular.

With this Code, instruction in elementary and advanced education for the working class assumed the position it was to keep, with a few minor changes, for over fifty years. The inspectors were no longer the ogres who terrified small children who did not know their lessons. Secondary education was organised on what turned out to be class lines. The less able, and economically insolvent were shunted into a quiet backwater in educational terms. Their brighter classmates competed for bursaries and went to quite distinct departments or schools. The old Scottish tradition of all stages of education gathered together under the one roof - from tiny infants spelling out the alphabet, to near-adults conning their Latin or mathematics - had come finally to an end. Society had changed in the intervening years. It needed more specialists; the old system was intended, however faultily, to provide a general education for as many as possible. That now had to come to an end.

143 Bone: School Inspection p.178

144 Code of 1899 Article 138, 139, 140. Two types - either Scientific or Technical; or Commercial

145 Ibid Article 19 A 1-8.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION

There can be little doubt that the Act of 1872 was indeed a watershed in the organisation of Scottish education. The Act made possible a unified system of education for the bulk of Scottish children for the first time. There were still a few denominational and voluntary schools, outwith the ambit of the public system, but even they were under the overall control of the State in financial terms. By 1900, all could sign the marriage register in their own hand. More children than ever before, in proportion to population, were attending school. The teachers were both more numerous and better trained than previously. The physical conditions in schools, in terms of sanitation, space and ventilation had never been bettered - at least where provision for the working class child was concerned.

All the same, it would be incorrect to suggest that the course of Scottish education was part of some 'Onward and Upward' syndrome. Scottish education remained very much a reflection of its parent society. Merely being able to sign one's name was not the same as having an appreciation of great literature. The numbers of autodidacts and those attending evening classes after their years at school, suggest that some at least of the working class felt that they had not had a complete education from their years of compulsory schooling. The motive for educational reform, was, as has been noted, not primarily philanthropic. Scottish society had experienced radical changes in the nineteenth century. Reform of the educational system seemed both necessary and desirable by 1872. Along with urbanisation, industrialisation, growth of trade unions, and an expanding franchise, came a self-conscious working class. It was no longer enough to dismiss the

'lower orders' as unworthy of consideration. Besides this, certain reforms had already been achieved before 1872. Poor Law reform meant that the risk of actual starvation was greatly diminished; sanitary improvements meant less disease; various Factory Acts reduced some of the more overt forms of exploitation; the expansion of the franchise offered the possibility of less political alienation. Only education by 1872 was substantially unreformed. Why was this so?

One reason was the multitude of bodies with a finger in the educational pie. With the Disruption of 1843, a parallel system to that of the Established Church had been set up. The influx of the largely Roman Catholic Irish meant that yet another group had an interest in teaching the children of its own communion. The same applied to the Episcopalians and the United Presbyterians. Earlier in the century, landowners endowed schools for the use of children in their estates and villages. Managers and owners of public works, frequently situated in remote parts of the countryside, found it in their interest to educate the children of their workforce. Groups of parents in remote areas paid a lad to teach their children during the winter months. Fishermen and miners sometimes did so, too. After 1840, the State offered financial help coupled with inspection. The motives and aims of these groups differed widely. Sectarianism, self-interest, philanthropy - all these formed the motives of education for the working class child.

Nationalism also played a part in Scottish education. The Union recognised the separate place of Scottish education. Unlike England, a certain element of public support of education was maintained. The heritors and their tenants financed parochial schools, designed for all classes. The perfection of the parochial system was flawed by the mid nineteenth century. It had never worked in large Highland parishes;

it could not cope with urban demands. The Free Kirk undermined the claim of the parish schools to provide a truly national education. Nevertheless, though government aid after 1840 went to all schools that were qualified, this could not destroy the idea that there was, after all, something distinctly Scottish about the school system. The central government was free to offer grants, but it could not make Scottish schools uniform with English ones. Scots clung to the notion that there was something democratic about their educational institutions. In theory the parish school was open to all children; in practice it often gave instruction sufficiently advanced to allow direct University entrance. The English situation was different. Central officials would have found it easier to operate a unified British system of education. Most Scots valued their form of education, despite its manifest flaws. This slowed down the impetus to educational reform.

By the late '60's and early '70's, the State was clearly taking an increasing share in education. Partly, this was in keeping with the growth of State interest in other sectors of society. Partly, also, perhaps, it was intended to provide a unifying thread tying together the efforts of very disparate bodies. Hence State inspection - even if it was on denominational lines. By 1872, however, the whole structure had become top-heavy. All the churches, except for the United Presbyterian, accepted the principle of State aid and inspection. So also did most of the non-denominational group - though the adventure schools, carried on as they were for private gain, were excluded. However, since the early years of State aid, costs had soared. But still, all too many adults were illiterate. The twin forces of financial and administrative necessity, and concern about the poor results of all these efforts in areas of greatest educational destitution, the cities and the Highlands, made thorough reform seem both necessary and desirable.

Hence the Education (Scotland) Act of 1872. The campaign leading to the Act, and the Act itself, was formed by middle class opinion.^v The result was that after 1872, as before, education was for the working class, but controlled by the middle class. Although the working class was a distinct entity by this time, it was still far from having a decisive voice in national affairs. Furthermore, an increasing split had become apparent in educational organisation by mid century. More and more middle class children were being educated separately - even the parochial schools were being deserted in favour of middle class academies and seminaries for young ladies. It seems possible, though this was strenuously denied, that the English idea of State education for the manual working class, was being increasingly accepted by the middle class. It was not what they said about education that mattered; it was how they educated their own children. However, since it was thought that the middle class paid for the education of the working class (though actual financial contributions have never been quantified), it was considered only right that it should essentially remain in power. The motive of social control still held good after 1872. This brings us to the working of the Act itself.

The attempt to see that the whole workforce was educated ensured that education should be compulsory. However, local exigencies, especially in agricultural areas, meant that enforcement of this clause by a largely middle class, farmer-dominated, school board was more a matter of good intentions than action. Nevertheless, there was a vast increase in the numbers attending school after the 1872 Act. The following Table shows how this affected four school districts:*

* Table calculated from children in attendance at inspected schools PP 1874, XX; PP 1886, XXVII. As far as possible, parishes having a decrease in population have been chosen.

	<u>Attendance 1873-4</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Attendance 1885-6</u>
Creich	109	- 301	172
Dalmellington	839	+ 218	1047
Kiltarlity	199	- 403	262
St Boswells	90	- 14	109

There is a clear impression that school attendance has greatly improved. Unfortunately a percentage calculation cannot be performed with any accuracy, since the numbers of schools involved, except in St Boswells, are not constant. Four schools were involved in Dalmellington in 1873; in 1885 there were five. In Kiltarlity, the figures were four and six respectively. Having suggested that the above figures should be treated with some caution, it would appear even so that compulsory attendance did help to increase the numbers of children at school. The fact that in each case the number at school has increased, despite a population fall in three cases, tends to bear this out. The government reports show the national trend. The Table above suggests that this held true for the localities as well. The insistence that all teachers be properly qualified illustrated the growing centralisation of society. A certificate earned anywhere in the U.K. except Ireland, was acceptable everywhere. A curriculum which offered more than the 3 R's was a reflection of the need of society for workers who were willing to accept technological change. It was not a coincidence that elementary science became a Class Subject, in the mid '80's. Nor was the addition of science-orientated Specific Subjects an accident. Gaelic was added to this group partly at least as a sop to dissident Highlanders. The Irish troubles were quite enough for the government. Gaelic as a Specific Subject was an easy way to give extra money to school boards educating native speakers. The freeing of, first, Standard education,

then of education up to the age of fifteen, dealt with the last excuse that parents could make for not educating their children. The split between English and Scottish education was yet a further proof of how much education was affected by society.

The influence of society within even the fastness of the classroom was apparent. Efficient secular education was the goal. To this end, inspection after 1872 was scrupulously unbiased denominationally. Just as teachers were all too often held on a very tight rein by their employers, the school boards, so children were under strict discipline by their teachers. In this aspect of school life at least, teachers could generally count on local board support. The need for discipline, both during school life and after it, was recognised. Often the inspectors acted as mediators - between the harshness of the boards to the teachers, and between what they thought was over-excessive strictness towards their pupils, on the part of the teachers. The State was not always willing to accept what was done in its name. The effects upon the children can be seen only indistinctly, but it is interesting that some of the fiercest critics of British society still complained about harsh school discipline as much as fifty years later.

It was in the personnel of the school boards that the influence of society upon education could be most clearly seen. Just as the middle class held power in Parliament, so also did they control local education. The relative quiescence of the working class at this time with this situation reflects again their place in society. Where there was industry and urbanisation both their proportion of the total vote and their actual members were higher. This had much to ^{do} with rateable value in these areas, however. Only in the '90's was there any effort to exercise greater control over education, and this, significantly, did not take the form of demanding a widening of the franchise (that was

happening already with the rise in rateable values), but of greater effort to organise the vote at their disposal. The urge to amend, rather than revolutionise society, was clear. It is also possible that this tendency was reinforced by the relative decline of the landed gentry and the lessening of sectarian rivalry. However, the clergy and the farmers and the small shopkeepers and artisans still remained powerful. Their motives may have differed, but it will be noticed that each of these groups controlled their own work pace and hence could make time for educational administration. Perhaps this was one reason why, although the centre was so much in favour of scientific training, it took so long to be accepted. Such a way of thought was alien to the controlling local groups.

Much the same pattern can be discerned in the relation between the centre and the localities. The former had ultimate control of finance, but this did not serve to overawe a local board determined on going its own way. The latter would meet with final defeat in any trial of strength, but the struggle could sometimes be long and bitter.

Co-operation was the keynote to efficient education. It might have upset local feeling when a working class candidate won a place on the school board, but it served to head off any feelings that society was completely static. The severing of the administrative link between Scottish and English education was a further example of this tendency to accept change gracefully when it was inevitable. The ultimate financial power was still, however, vested in London. Just as happened with the concept of popular control, the trappings of power over education were transferred; the substance remained in the same hands as before.

The impact of the 1872 Act on the voluntary sector of education, was, as might be expected, somewhat muted. Such schools as were in

receipt of government grants were, naturally, inspected. However, their managers were not elected, and they did not share in the local rates. Not unexpectedly, only those groups with an overriding interest in keeping some sort of control over the education of their children, survived. The decline of the Presbyterian effort was inevitable as sectarian bitterness within this group declined. Only the Roman Catholic schools, catering, as they largely did, for an alien population, grew in numbers. What is surprising is that these schools still existed as a distinct group into the twentieth century. Possibly, the habit of separate control had become confirmed in a Protestant environment, even after second and later generations thought of themselves as Scots.

One example of a parallel system existing after the Act of 1872 has already been mentioned. The second was the higher class public schools which were under the control of the school boards, but could not share in local rate support. Together with Specific Subjects, they provided for advanced instruction within the context of the Act. Motives were mixed; the necessity for some sort of technical instruction has already been noted. It seems likely, however, that the provision of post-primary education was rooted in certain ambivalences in Scottish society. The idea of a clear path from elementary school to university for the 'lad o' pairts' was a long time in dying, even after it was quite clear that it was a myth. It was bound up with a notion that Scottish society was democratic and open to the advancement of the talented from whatever social class. What this idea did not take into account was that it meant that the talented working class child was expected to leave behind the class of his birth. That might have been acceptable in the unsophisticated society of eighteenth century Scotland; once there was a self-conscious working class with a notion of class conflict, this apparent avenue of advancement made for stasis rather than change in society.

By the end of the '90's, this new view of society, and the place of education within it, was given de facto recognition with the Code of 1899, which finally split off secondary education from elementary. The Code of 1899 was important for another reason. Just as the 1872 Act had rationalised elementary education, so the increasing number of bodies concerned in advanced education - the Science and Art Department, the SED itself, the county committees, and the school boards - made some sort of reform both necessary and desirable. Add to that the increasing needs of society for specialists rather than for those who had smatterings of a number of skills, and the timing of the new Code is explained. It was all very well to cherish the ideal of education from Infants to university entrance given under the one roof; a changed society demanded comparable developments in its educational system. The course of elementary education for the working class during the nineteenth century showed increasing interest on the part of the State. This brought an increased financial burden both for centre and locality. When the elementary part became too unwieldy for efficient administration, the 1872 Act resulted. When post-primary education became too top-heavy, a similar reform produced the Code of 1899. As always, however, it remained education for and not by the working class. The interests of a middle class dominated society remained paramount.

GLOSSARY (after Bone, T.R. School Inspection in Scotland)

Advanced Departments	Departments of elementary schools which, between 1899 and 1903, gave post-elementary education of a general kind to pupils who would leave school at the minimum age of 14.
Adventure Schools	Schools run by private individuals for profit.
Argyll Commission	A Royal Commission which inquired into the state of education in Scotland, 1864-68.
Assembly Schools	Schools provided by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, and supervised by that body's Education Committee. They made their first appearance shortly after the establishment of that Committee in 1824, and by 1839 there were 116 of them. By 1872 there were over 200.
Board of Education for Scotland	A temporary body (1872-78) which had its headquarters in Edinburgh, and which supervised the arrangements for the establishment of the national system of education after the passing of the Act of 1872.
Certificated Teacher	One who had obtained the certificate of the Committee of Council on Education showing competency in teaching.
Class Subject	A subject supplementary to the teaching of reading, writing, and arithmetic, earning extra government grant. The first Class Subjects were Grammar and Intelligence and History and Geography. Later, subjects like Elementary Science were added.
Committee of Privy Council on Education in Scotland	Established in 1872, and technically in existence till 1939, this was the ultimate central authority for education in Scotland, though in practice administration was in the hands of its executive branch, the Scotch Education Department.
County Secondary Education Committee	Containing representatives of the school boards, the county councils, and the Scotch Education Department, these bodies administered the distribution of the grants for secondary education between 1892 and 1918.
Dick Bequest	Money left by James Dick to augment the salaries of graduate parish schoolmasters in the counties of Aberdeen, Banff and Moray who taught advanced subjects successfully.

Educational Institute of Scotland	Founded in 1847, this is the largest and most influential teachers' organisation in Scotland.
Grant-Aided Schools	Those which received grants from the state because of the work they were doing. They might or might not be controlled by the local authorities for education.
Heritors	The local landowners.
Higher-Class Schools	Those which were exclusively concerned with post-elementary work. Only a small number of these were at first under public control. In 1908 the title was replaced by that of Secondary Schools.
Higher Grade Schools	Schools under public control which originally combined elementary work with some secondary instruction. From 1898 to 1918 they were officially regarded as meeting the needs of those who would spend at least three years in a post-primary course. After 1903 the Intermediate Certificate was their official goal, but in fact many came to provide full secondary courses leading to the Leaving Certificate. In 1918 many became full Secondary Schools.
Indenture	The terms of agreement regarding conditions of service drawn up between a school board and a pupil-teacher, approved by the Scotch Education Department.
Leaving Certificate	Instituted in 1888, this was the supreme award in Scottish secondary education. In 1962 it was replaced by the Scottish Certificate of Education.
Merit Certificate	From 1892 to 1898 this was awarded to pupils over 13 in elementary schools who had shown proficiency in more than purely elementary work. From 1898 to 1903 it marked the satisfactory completion of an elementary course, but in 1903 it regained its post-elementary function, being awarded to pupils who had pursued a Supplementary Course for not less than one year. In 1923, like the Supplementaries, it dropped out of existence.

**Minutes of the Committee
of Council on Education**

From 1839 when the first Committee of Council on Education, for the whole of Britain, was established, until 1939, the minutes of the Committee's proceedings, provided they were not challenged and overruled by Parliament, had statutory force, and therefore many important changes were introduced not by legislation, but simply by the publication of a minute.

Parker Committee

A departmental committee under the chairmanship of C.S. Parker, MP, which investigated various questions relating to education in Scotland, 1886-1888.

Pupil-Teachers

Senior pupils who entered into an apprenticeship, assisting with the teaching of the school, and being given further education outside school hours. On satisfactory completion of their apprenticeship, they might go to a Training College to become certificated teachers.

Rate-Aided Schools

Those which were controlled by the local authorities for education. Others (eg voluntary schools) could receive grants from the state, but no local rate aid.

Revised Code

Instituted in England in 1862, this revised the codification of all the existing regulations about grants for education, and operated a system of payment by results in individual examinations of pupils by the inspectors. By the time it was applied to Scotland in 1873, some of its original rigour had been lost, though the principles remained the same.

School Boards

The local authorities for education in Scotland from 1872 to 1918, each board being elected by the ratepayers of a parish.

Scotch Code

The regulations concerning the payment of grants to schools in Scotland. First issued in 1873. Greatly altered, it is now known as the Schools (Scotland) Code.

Secretary for Scotland

The Parliamentary Minister responsible for Scottish affairs, including education, from 1885 to 1926, when he became the Secretary of State for Scotland. He was also Vice-President and effective head of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland.

Sessional Schools

Schools established and controlled by the kirk sessions of prosperous churches in the large towns, usually giving only elementary instruction but, in the conditions of the industrial revolution, playing a very important part in the educational provision of the time.

Specific Subjects

Instituted by the first Scotch Code of 1873 and existing until 1898, these permitted some measure of secondary work to be done in elementary schools, and to be paid for by government grant.

Standard

The Codes were for many years based upon individual examination of pupils, and a standard was the level of attainment expected of a child at a certain stage. Payment had ceased to be based upon individual examination by 1890, but the standards remained as expected levels of attainment till 1899.

Subscription Schools

Schools organised by parents who collected money to provide a salary for a teacher for their children.

Voluntary Schools

Those which were controlled by the religious denominations. They might receive government grants for the work they were doing, but could obtain no support from the rates.

APPENDIX

Table 1

Source: Arg.Com. PP 1867 Vol. XXV page 24.

Number of Scholars on the Roll of all the Schools in
Scotland, with the Proportion of such Scholars in each
Class of Schools to the Total Number of Scholars

	<u>Number of Schools</u>	<u>Scholars on Roll</u>	<u>% of those on Roll to Total</u>
Parochial	917	76,493	24.4
Side	189	10,073	3.2
Parliamentary	27	1,617	0.5
Church of Scotland	519	33,251	10.6
Free Church	617	48,860	15.6
UP and other Presbyterian	45	3,114	0.9
Episcopalian	74	6,202	1.9
Roman Catholic	61	5,736	1.8
Undenominational and Others	1,084	91,734	29.3
Private Adventure	910	32,283	11.2

Table 2

Source: Arg.Com. PP 1867 Vol. XXV page xcvi

Day Schools 1864-5, 1865-6

% of Total number examined who passed in

STD II				STD III			
Writing		Arithmetic		Writing		Arithmetic	
1864/65	65/66	1864/65	65/66	1864/65	65/66	1864/65	65/66
87.0	93.44	65.0	76.15	C of S	73.2	77.48	76.1
95.5	97.18	78.6	81.46	Free Church	86.3	89.74	82.1
88.5	92.54	76.0	77.53	Episcopalian	90.5	92.83	71.7
87.0	93.65	62.5	72.73	R. Catholic	86.8	94.78	76.5

This led the Commissioners to ask how impartial denominational inspection was - p.xcix.

Table 3

School Attendance - % increase

1871	Nil
1872	5.1
1873	3.3
1874	19.6
1875	15.0
1876	8.4
1877	9.5
1878	4.6
1879	2.1
1880	5.1
1881	1.32
1882	2.76
1883	2.82
1884	3.49
1885	5.12
1886	2.72
1887	2.14
1888	1.55
1889	1.27
1890	2.22
1891	3.9
1892	1.71
1893	2.52
1894	2.69
1895	1.64
1896	2.26
1897	1.58
1898	1.16
1899	0.44

Source: PP 1900, Vol. XXIV, page 40 (Table 1)

Table 4

1873

1885

1897

Occupation	Ayr Inver.	Glas.	Rox.	Sd.	Ayr Inver.	Glas.	Rox.	Sd.	Ayr Inver.	Glas.	Rox.	Sd.
I Clergy												
C of S	9	2	3	5	3	2	5	1	7	2	2	3
FC	4	2	2	3	1	2	3	-	2	3	1	3
RC	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
UP	1	-	-	3	-	-	1	-	1	-	2	-
Ev Union	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other	2	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	16	5	9	11	4	4	7	9	1	31	6	38
II Professional/Commercial												
Doctor (MD)	1	-	-	1	1	1	-	1	1	1	1	1
Solicitor	1	1	-	2	-	1	-	5	-	-	-	-
Factor	6	2	-	3	2	2	-	1	6	3	1	-
Accountant/Cashier	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-
Manager	3	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	2	-	-	-
Clothier	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	1	-
Bailie	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Contractor	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	-
Druggist	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-
Civil Engineer	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-
Total	13	3	-	8	3	27	12	9	4	30	7	29

Table 4 (continuation)

		1873			1885			1897		
Occupation		Ayr Inver. Glas. Rox. Sd.			Ayr Inver. Glas. Rox. Sd.			Ayr Inver. Glas. Rox. Sd.		
<u>III Upper Middle</u>										
Iron & Coal Master/ Manufacturer	1	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	1	-
Merchant (Wholesale)	2	-	4	1	-	4	1	-	2	1
Landowner	6	5	1	6	4	3	8	3	2	8
Military Officer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Ship Owner	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Publisher	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Total	9	5	6	8	4	32	5	10	3	11
<u>IV Lower Middle/Artisan</u>										
Shopkeeper	-	-	-	3	-	2	-	4	-	4
Joiner/Carpenter	-	1	-	3	-	-	1	1	-	-
Farmer	8	3	-	9	15	6	-	10	5	7
Miller	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Shoemaker	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Blacksmith	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Baker	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cattle Dealer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dyer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Hotel Keeper	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	3
Journalist	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Tailor	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-
Builder	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2
Mason	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Carrier	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Foreman/Colliery	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
Oversman	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-
Implement Maker	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	13	4	-	17	3	37	7	17	7	15
									6	8
										47

Table 1_k (continuation)

Occupation	1873			1885			1897		
	Ayr	Inver.	Glas. Rox. Sd.	Ayr	Inver.	Glas. Rox. Sd.	Ayr	Inver.	Glas. Rox. Sd.
<u>V Working Class</u>									
Miner	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Fireman	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Friendly Society Member	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Roadman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Railway Fitter	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Post Runner	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Warehouseman	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Stockingmaker	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Crofter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Total	-	-	-	0	-	-	2	1	1
									4
									1
<u>VI Women</u>									
	-	-	-	0	-	-	3	-	-
									2
									1
									3

Source: School Board Minute Books; Elections of 1873, 1885, 1897. The 1894 figures were used for Dregghorn in Ayrshire. The School Board Minutes went no further in the '90's.

	1873			1885			1897		
	Seats	Uncategorised		Seats	Uncategorised		Seats	Uncategorised	
Ayr	55	4		55	6		55	4	
Glasgow	15	-		15	-		15	-	
Inverness	17	-		17	-		17	-	
Roxburgh	51	7		51	2		51	2	
Sutherland	15	1		17	2		17	1	
	153	12		155	10		155	7	

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The bibliography is arranged in the following manner:

1. Twentieth century publications
2. Nineteenth century publications
3. Newspapers
4. Government publications
5. Unpublished sources

1. Twentieth century publications

(a) Books and pamphlets

- Aitken, W.R. A History of the Public Library Movement in Scotland to 1955
Glasgow, 1971
- Armour, J.L. Look What Happened to Me
New York, 1958
- Armstrong, W.H.E. The American Influence in English Education
London, 1967
Four Hundred Years of English Education
Cambridge, 1964
- Bain, A. Education in Stirlingshire from the Reformation to the Act of 1872
London, 1965
- Ball, N. Her Majesty's Inspectorate, 1839-1849
Edinburgh, 1963
- Barclay, W. The Schools and Schoolmasters of Banffshire
Banff, 1925
- Barnard, H.C. A Short History of English Education, 1760-1944
London, 1958
- Belford, A.J. Centenary Handbook of the Educational Institute of Scotland
Edinburgh, 1946
- Bell, T. John Maclean, a Fighter for Freedom
Glasgow, 1944
- ✓ Bone, T.R. School Inspection in Scotland, 1844-1966
Edinburgh, 1968
(editor) Studies in the History of Scottish Education, 1872-1939
London, 1967
- Boyd, W. Education in Ayrshire through Seven Centuries
London, 1961
- Campbell, R.H. Scotland Since 1707
Oxford, 1965
- Clark, G. Kitson The Making of Victorian England
London, 1961

- Clunie, J. The Voice of Labour
Dunfermline, 1958
Labour is My Faith
Dunfermline, 1954
- ✓ Corrie, J. The Image O' God and other poems
Edinburgh, 1937
- Cruickshank, M. History of the Training of Teachers in Scotland
Edinburgh, 1970
- Curtis, S.J. History of Education in Great Britain
London, 1948
- Day, J.P. Public Administration in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland
London, 1918
- Davie, G.E. The Democratic Intellect
Edinburgh, 1961
- Dealy, M.B. Catholic Schools in Scotland
Washington, D.C., 1945
- Dow, J.B. and Campbell, R.H. Source Book of Scottish Economic and Social History
Oxford, 1968
- Ferguson, T. Scottish Social Welfare, 1864-1914
Edinburgh, 1958
- Ferguson, W. Scotland, 1689 to the Present
Edinburgh, 1968
- Finer, S.E. The Life and Times of Sir Edwin Chadwick
London, 1952
- Fowler, John (editor) The Memoirs of Lord Bannerman of Kildonan
Aberdeen, 1972
- Gallacher, W. Last Memoirs
London, 1966
- Gammie, A. (editor) From Pit to Palace, The Life Story of the Right Honourable James Brown MP
London, 1931
- Gosden, P.H.J.H. How They Were Taught
Oxford, 1969
- Graham, T.N. Willie Graham
London, n.d.
- Griffen, A.D. No Wee Angel
Auckland, 1957
- Haddow, W.M. My Seventy Years
Glasgow, 1943
- Handley, J.E. The Irish in Modern Scotland
Cork, 1947
- Hanham, H.J. The Reformed Electoral System in Great Britain, 1832-1914
London, 1968
- Hardy, L. The Diary of a Free Kindergarten
London, 1912

- Houghton, W.E. The Victorian Frame of Mind
New Haven, 1957
- House, J. Pavement in the Sun
London, 1967
- Hughes, E. Keir Hardie
London, 1956
- Jessop, J.C. Education in Angus before 1872
London, 1931
- Johnston, T. Memories
London, 1952
- Kellas, J.G. Modern Scotland
London, 1968
- Kerr, J. Scottish Education, School and University from
early times to 1908
Cambridge, 1913
Other Memories, Old and New
Edinburgh, 1904
Memories, Grave and Gay; Forty Years of School
Inspection
Edinburgh, 1902
Leaves from an Inspector's Log Book
London, n.d.
- Kirkwood, D. My Life of Revolt
London, 1935
- Knox, H.M. Two Hundred and Fifty Years of Scottish Education
Edinburgh, 1953
- ✓ Laurie, S.S. Dick Bequest Report, 1904
Edinburgh, 1904
- McGovern, J. Neither Fear Nor Favour
London, 1960
- Mackintosh, M. Education in Scotland yesterday and today
Glasgow, 1962
- Marwick, W.H. A Short History of Labour in Scotland
Edinburgh, 1967
Economic Developments in Victorian Scotland
London, 1936
- Mason, J. A History of Scottish Experiments in Rural Education
from the eighteenth century to the present day
London, 1935
- Marx, K. and
Engels, F. On Britain
London, 1962
- Moffat, A. My Life with the Miners
London, 1965
- Morgan, A. Makers of Scottish Education
London, 1929
The Rise and Progress of Scottish Education
Edinburgh, 1927

- Neill, A.S. A Dominie's Log
London, 1915
- Neill, A.S. Neill! Neill! Orange Peel!
London, 1973
- Omond, G.W.T. The Lord Advocates of Scotland, 2nd series, 1834-1880
London, 1914
- Osborne, G.S. Scottish and English Schools
London, 1966
- Paton, J. Proletarian Pilgrimage
London, 1935
- Pelling, H. The Social Geography of British Elections, 1885-1910
London, 1967
- Pollard, S. The Genesis of Modern Management
London, 1965
- Rea, F.G. A School in South Uist
London, 1964
- Roxburgh, J.M. The School Board of Glasgow, 1873-1919
Edinburgh, 1971
- Rusk, R.R. The Training of Teachers in Scotland; an historical review
London, 1928
- Russell, J.A. History of Education in Kirkcudbright
Newton-Stewart, 1951
- Saunders, L.J. Scottish Democracy, 1815-1840
Edinburgh, 1950
- ✓ Scotland, J. The History of Scottish Education Two vols.
London, 1969
- Scott, H. (editor) Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae
Edinburgh, 1950
- Shinwell, E. Conflict Without Malice
London, 1955
- ✓ Simon, B. Studies in the History of Education, 1780-1870
London, 1969
Studies in the History of Education: Education and the Labour Movement, 1870-1920
London, 1965
- Simpson, I.J. Education in Aberdeenshire before 1872
London, 1947
- Smith, D.L. The Dalmellington Iron Company
Newton Abbot, 1967
- Smout, T.C. History of the Scottish People
London, 1969
- Stewart, W.A.C. and McCann, W.P. The Educational Innovators, 1750-1880
London, 1967
- Sturt, M. The Education of the People; a history of primary education in England and Wales in the nineteenth century
London, 1967

- Strong, J. History of Secondary Education in Scotland
London, 1909
- Wade, N.A. Post Primary Education in the Primary Schools of Scotland
London, 1939
- Webb, R.K. The British Working Class Reader: 1790-1848
London, 1955
- Wilson, J. Tales and Travels of a School Inspector
Glasgow, 1928
- Wright, L.C. Scottish Chartism
Edinburgh, 1953
- Young, T.P. L'Enseignement en Ecosse, 1560-1872
Paris, 1907

(b) Articles

- Banks, O.L. "Morant and the Secondary School Regulations of 1904."
British Journal of Educational Studies, Volume III,
No.1 (November, 1954), 33-41
- Cruickshank, M. "The Argyll Commission Report, 1865-8; a landmark in Scottish Education."
British Journal of Educational Studies, Volume XV,
No.2 (June, 1967), 133-147
- Eaglesham, E. "Planning the Education Bill of 1902."
British Journal of Educational Studies, Volume IX,
No.1 (November, 1960), 3-24
- Gosden, P.H.J.H. "The Board of Education Act, 1899."
British Journal of Educational Studies, Volume XI,
No.1 (November, 1962), 44-60
- Lenman, B. and Stocks, J. "The Beginnings of State Education in Scotland, 1872-1885"
Scottish Educational Studies, Volume 4,
No.2 (November, 1972), 93-106
- MacKinnon, K.M. "Education and Social Control: The Case of Gaelic Scotland"
Scottish Educational Studies, Volume 4,
No.2 (November, 1972), 125-137
- Madge, C. "Some Aspects of Mass Literacy."
British Journal of Educational Studies, Volume IV,
No.1 (November, 1955), 3-14
- Myers, J.D. "Scottish Nationalism and the Antecedents of the 1872 Education Act."
Scottish Educational Studies, Volume 4,
No.2 (November, 1972), 73-92
- Stenhouse, L. "Hartvig Nissen's Impressions of the Scottish Educational System in the mid-nineteenth century."
British Journal of Educational Studies, Volume IX,
No.2 (May, 1961), 143-154

- Webb, R.K. "Literacy among the working classes in nineteenth century Scotland"
Scottish Historical Review, Volume XXXIII, (1954), 100-114
- Withrington, D.J. "Towards a National System, 1867-72: The Last Years in the Struggle for a Scottish Education Act"
Scottish Educational Studies, Volume 4, No.2 (November, 1972), 107-124
2. Nineteenth Century Publications
- (a) Books
- Dod's Parliamentary Pocket Companion, 1873
- Gibbs, H.J. and Edwards, J.W. The Code of the Scotch Education Department (annotated)
Edinburgh, 1878
- Grant, J. History of the Burgh and Parish Schools of Scotland
London, 1876
- Guthrie, T. Ragged Schools
Edinburgh, 1860
- ✓ Laurie, S.S. Report on Education in the Parochial Schools of the counties of Aberdeen, Banff and Moray addressed to the Trustees of the Dick Bequest
Edinburgh, 1865
Report to the Trustees of the Dick Bequest on the Rural Public (formerly Parochial) Schools of Aberdeen, Banff and Moray with special reference to the higher instruction
Edinburgh, 1890
- Menzies, A. Report to the Trustees of the Bequest of ... James Dick, for the benefit of the county parochial schoolmaster in ... Aberdeen, Banff and Moray
Edinburgh, 1836, 1854
- New Statistical Account Volume III - Roxburgh, Peebles, Selkirk
Edinburgh, 1843
Volume V - Ayrshire
Edinburgh, 1845
Volume VI - Lanarkshire
Edinburgh, 1845
Volume XV - Sutherland
Edinburgh, 1845
- Nimmo, P. A Book about Dominies
Edinburgh, 1871
- Ordnance Gazetteer: Scotland 1882-1885 (Editor F. Groome)
- Sellar, A.C. Manual of the Education Acts of Scotland
Edinburgh, 1894
- Tod, J. Handbook of the Education (Scotland) Act
Edinburgh, 1873
- Wright, A. The History of Education and of the old parish schools of Scotland
Edinburgh, 1898

(b) Pamphlets

- Black. J. On some defects in our present school system:
a lecture
Edinburgh, 1876
- Blackie, W.G. Commercial education; an address delivered to the
Glasgow local association of the Educational
Institute of Scotland on the 17th March, 1888
Glasgow, 1888
- Browning, O. The teaching of history in schools; an address
delivered October 22, 1887, etc.
London, 1887
- Buchanan, D. Prominent educational topics. Inaugural address
to the Glasgow branch of the Educational Institute
of Scotland on October 18, 1890
Edinburgh, 1890
- Chalmers, T. Churches and schools for the working classes.
An address, etc.
Edinburgh, 1846
Letter to the Royal Commissioners for the
Visitation of Colleges in Scotland
Glasgow, 1832
- Combe, G. What should secular education embrace?
Edinburgh, 1848
Remarks on national education; being an enquiry into
the right and duty of Government to educate the people
Edinburgh, 1847
- Cuthbertson, J.N. Secondary education from the school board point of
view. An address to the Glasgow branch of the
Association of Teachers in the Secondary Schools of
Scotland
Glasgow, 1887
- Dickson, W.P. Recent methods of educational and university
legislation; a narrative and comment
Glasgow, 1889
- Ellis, W. Combinations and strikes from the teacher's point
of view. (Reprinted from The Museum and English
Journal of Education)
London, 1865
- Ferguson Bequest
Fund The Ferguson Scholarships, founded in 1860.
Report to the Trustees of the Ferguson Bequest Fund
on the past operation of the scheme
By M.S. Tait, Secretary to the Trustees
Glasgow, 1882
- Gillis, J.(Bishop) A lecture on education
Edinburgh, 1856
- Hanson, J. The pupil teacher system and the training of pupil
teachers. A paper read at a meeting of the Bradford
and District Teachers' Association, etc.
Bradford, 1878

- Hill, A. Train up a child in the way he should go; a paper on the industrial schools of Scotland and the working of Dunlop's Act
London, 1856 (?)
- Hodgson, W.B. The ideal of Scottish primary education. Read before the Sixth Annual Congress of the Educational Institute, December 30, 1879 N.p.n.d.
- Jolly, W. Education and its physical relations with special reference to prevalent defects in schools, etc.
London, 1886
Physical education and hygiene in schools. A paper read at the British Association in Glasgow, September, 1876
London, n.d.
Composition, grammar and analysis and their combined teaching from the first with composition as the basis and end. A lecture delivered before the Nairnshire Association of Teachers on the 20th January, 1872
Edinburgh, 1872
- Kennedy, W. Examinations. Being a Paper read at the Galashiels Congress of the Educational Institute of Scotland, January, 1884
London, 1884
The school boards of Scotland; their relation to higher education
Glasgow, 1883
Our standard failures. Being a paper read at the Conference of Clerks of School Boards held at Leicester, September 1882
Glasgow, 1882
Notes on the International Educational Congress held at Brussels, August 1880
Glasgow, n.d.
Large schools; their educational and economic advantages. Being a paper read at the Educational Congress held at Edinburgh on January 2 & 3, 1879
Glasgow, 1879
- Lamrie, S.S. The respective functions in education of primary, secondary and university schools ... Address ... Educational Conference ... Edinburgh, 1886
Edinburgh, 1887
- ✓ Laurie, S.S. ✓ Free education, etc., etc., Chair of Institutes and History of Education introductory lecture ...
2nd Nov., 1884.
n.p.n.d.
✓ On the educational wants of Scotland, etc.
Edinburgh, 1881
- ✓ Lewis, G. Scotland, a half-educated nation
Glasgow, 1834
- Macdonald, J. Our secondary schools and how to improve them. An address delivered at the meeting of the Educational Congress at Glasgow, 29th December, 1875
Glasgow, 1876

- Macewen, A.R. The dangers of professional training. An address given to the Glasgow branch of the Educational Institute of Scotland on November 16th, 1889
Glasgow, 1889
- Manning, E.A. Kindergarten training. A paper read at the Social Science Congress at Glasgow, 1874
Glasgow, 1874
- Milligan, J. Is teaching a profession? Inaugural address delivered to the Glasgow branch of the Educational Institute of Scotland, 19th October, 1889
Glasgow, 1889
- Moncrieff, J.
(Baron) An educational retrospect; being an address delivered ... on the occasion of the opening of Kent Road public school ...
Glasgow, 1886
- Parker, C.S. Secondary education in Scotland and the state. Being an address ... delivered to the Association of Teachers in the Secondary Schools of Scotland, October 20th, 1888
Ayr, n.d.
- Quick, R.H. The schoolmaster, past and future; a lecture
Cambridge, 1879
- Ronge, J. and
Ronge, B. Revised Report. Address on the kindergarten system of elementary education delivered in the Manchester Athenaeum on the 21st March ... and ... 14th April, 1859, etc.
Manchester, 1859
- Ross, D. The residue and equivalent grants etc.
Edinburgh, 1892
A Minister of Education; his position and functions
Glasgow, 1885
Education as a university subject; its history, present position and prospects
Glasgow, 1883
- Sellar, A.C. Scotch educational progress, 1864-1887. An address delivered at the opening of the Hamilton Crescent public school ... 27th May, 1887
Glasgow, 1887
- Wharton, J. The education of the middle classes; its defective system at present, the national importance of improving it, etc.
London, 1847
- Wilson, A. The Scottish educational question; the duty of the Church in the present crisis, to the schoolmaster and herself
Paisley, 1856

3. Newspapers

The Edinburgh Evening Courant

The Glasgow Herald

The Scotsman

The North British Daily Mail

The Scottish Leader

4. Government publications

- (a) Committee of Council on Education in Scotland, Board of Education and the Scotch Education Department, with Accountant's Reports

- (i) Reports of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland

Parliamentary Papers, Great Britain

1842	volume	XXXIII	1859	volume	XXI (Part I)
1843	"	XL	1860	"	LIII
1844	"	XXXVIII	1860	"	LIV
1845	"	XXXV	1861	"	XLIX
1846	"	XXXII	1862	"	XLII
1847	"	XLV	1863	"	XLVII
1847-8	"	L	1864	"	XLV
1849	"	XLII	1865	"	XLII
1850	"	XLIV	1866	"	XXVII
1851	"	XLIV	1867	"	XXII
1852-3	"	LXXX	✓ 1867-8	"	XXV
✓ 1854	"	LII	1868-9	"	XX
1854-5	"	XLII	✓ 1870	"	XXII
✓ 1856	"	XLVII	1871	"	XXII
1857	"	XXXIII	1872	"	XXII
1857-8	"	XLV			

- (ii) Reports of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland (from 1872 also known as the Scotch Education Department), with Accountant's Reports

Parliamentary Papers, Great Britain

1873	volume	XXIV	✓ 1890	volume	XXXI
✓ 1874	"	XX	1890-1	"	XXX
✓ 1875	"	XXVI	1892	"	XXXI
✓ 1876	"	XXV	1893	"	XXVIII
✓ 1877	"	XXXII	1893	"	LXIX
✓ 1878	"	XXXI	1894	"	XXXI
✓ 1878-9	"	XXV	1895	"	XXX
✓ 1880	"	XXIV	✓ 1896	"	XXIX
1880	"	LV	✓ 1896	"	LXVI
✓ 1881	"	XXXIV	1897	"	XXIX
✓ 1882	"	XXV	1897	"	LXXI
✓ 1883	"	XXVI	✓ 1898	"	XXVIII
✓ 1884-5	"	XXVI	✓ 1898	"	XXIX
✓ 1886	"	XXVII	1899	"	XXVI
✓ 1887	"	XXXII	✓ 1899	"	XXVII
✓ 1888	"	XLI	✓ 1900	"	XXIV
1889	"	XXXII			

(iii) Reports of the Board of Education for Scotland, with Accountant's Report

1874	volume XX	1877	volume XXXII
✓ 1875	" XXVI	1878	" XXX
1876	" XXV	✓ 1878-9	" XXV

(b) Miscellaneous Reports, Commissions, etc.

Parliamentary Papers, Great Britain

1837	volume XLVII	<u>Abstract of the Answers and Returns relative to the Education Enquiry (Scotland)</u>
1839	volume XX	<u>Fifth Annual Report of the Poor Commissioners - Report of a Committee of the General Assembly on the management of the Poor in Scotland</u>
1842	volume XVI	<u>First Report of Commissioners on the employment and conditions of Children in Mines and Manufactories (Mines) - Reports and Evidence of Sub-Commissioners - Appendix to First Report, Part I, Mines and Collieries</u>
✓ 1843	volume XV	<u>Second Report of the Commissioners (Trades and Manufactures) Appendix to Second Report, Part II, with Reports and evidence from Sub-Commissioners</u>
✓ 1844	volume XXVI	<u>Report from Her Majesty's Commissioners for inquiring into the administration and practical operation of the Poor Laws in Scotland, Appendix, Part VII</u>
1865	volume XVII	<u>First Report by Her Majesty's Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Schools in Scotland (The Argyll Commission)</u>
✓ 1867	volumes XXV XXVI	<u>The Argyll Commission Second Report</u>
1867-8	volume XXIX	<u>The Argyll Commission Third Report</u>
1884	volumes XXXII, XXXIII, XXXIV, XXXV, XXXVI ✓	<u>Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry into the Condition of the Crofters and Cottars in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland (The Napier Commission)</u>
✓ 1884-5	volume XXVI	<u>Report on Highland Schools by Henry Craik, Senior Examiner in Scotch Education Department</u>
✓ 1888	volume XLI	<u>First Report of the Committee on changes in the Scotch Code of 1887 to facilitate admission of Gaelic-speaking students as Queen's Scholars</u>
1888	volume XLI	<u>Third Report of the Parker Committee on Secondary Education</u>
1888	volume XLI	<u>Commission on Adventure Schools</u>

- (c) Reports of the Board of Supervision for the Relief of the Poor in Scotland

Parliamentary Papers, Great Britain

1873	volume XXIX	1878-9	volume XXX
1874	" XXVI	1880	" XXVIII
1875	" XXXII	1881	" XLVII
1876	" XXXII	1882	" XXXI
1877	" XXXVIII	1883	" XXIX

- (d) Debates

Hansard's Parliamentary Debates - House of Commons, 1871, 1872, 1873, 1874, 1875.

Hansard's Parliamentary Debates - House of Lords, 1872, 1874.

- (e) Statutes

Education (Scotland) Act, 1872 (35 and 36 Vict, ch 62)

Education (Scotland) Act, 1878 (41 and 42 Vict, ch 78)

Public Schools (Scotland) Teachers Act, 1882 (45 and 46 Vict, ch 18)

Education (Scotland) Act, 1883 (46 and 47 Vict, ch 50)

Education (Scotland) Act, 1898 (60 and 61 Vict, ch 62)

- ✓ (f) Census

Census of 1811, 1831, 1841, 1871, 1881, 1891, 1901.

- (g) Codes

Minutes of 1846

✓ Code of 1860

Revised Code, 1864

✓ SED Codes, 1873-1900

5. Unpublished Sources

- (a) Records

Scottish Record Office

✓ Lord Advocate's Papers - Boxes 15-20, 26, 27

Scottish Education Department - E.D.7, E.D.14

✓ Miscellaneous Muniments - G.D.2, G.D.45, G.D.47, G.D.96

✓ Records of Scottish Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge - G.D.95

Valuation Rolls, 1868-1896

National Library of Scotland

- Log Book of Davidson School, 1866-73, Aberdeen - MS 1937
Fairnington School, Ednam, 1876-94, Miscellaneous Letters - MS 3126
Education Bills, 1838-1869, Miscellaneous Letters - MSS 3679, 9700, 9705, 9707
Longnewton School, Ancrum, Douglas of Springwood Park, Miscellaneous Muniments 1873-77 - MS 8079

Mitchell Library, Glasgow

- Glasgow Trades Council Minutes, 1886-1889
Glasgow Trades Council Reports, 1887-8 to 1896-7

Glasgow City Archives

- 1851
1873
School Board Minutes, Logbooks, Letterbooks, etc. - 1865-1897
Glasgow School Board Minute Book - 1873-1896
Glasgow School Board Committee Minute Book -
(a) Scroll, 1873-1876 (b) Type, 1879-1891
Glasgow School Board Miscellaneous Letterbooks
Logbooks - 1864-1900

Sutherland County Council

School Board Minute Books for Parishes of:

- ✓ Clyne - 1873-1900
✓ Creich - 1873-1902
✓ Loth - 1873-1902

Ayr County Council

School Board Minute Books for Parishes of:

- ✓ Auchinleck - 1873-1898
Dalmellington - 1873-1897
Dalrymple - 1873-1900
Dreghorn - 1873-1894
✓ Kirkoswald - 1873-1899
Muirkirk - 1873-1897
✓ Old Cumnock - 1873-1899
✓ St Quivox - 1873-1900
Symington - 1873-1900

Muirkirk Village Society School Minutes 1842-1863

Inverness County Council

School Board Minute Books for Parishes of:

- Daviot and Dunlichty - 1873-1900
Kiltarlity - 1873-1900
Kirkhill - 1873-1900

Roxburgh County Council

School Board Minute Books for Parishes of:

✓ Ancrum	- 1873-1902
Bedrule	- 1873-1902
✓ Castleton	- 1873-1900
✓ Hawick Burgh	- 1873-1900
✓ Hobkirk	- 1873-1900
✓ Kelso	- 1873-1897
✓ Lilliesleaf	- 1873-1900
Linton	- 1873-1900
✓ St Boswells	- 1873-1901

(b) Theses

- Gray, W. "The Teaching of Elementary Mathematics in Scotland in the Nineteenth Century"
Ph.D. thesis, Edinburgh University, 1952
- Knox, H.M. "The Educational Writings of Simon Somerville Laurie, M.A., LL.D., F.E.I.S., F.R.S.E. (1829-1909), First Bell Professor of the Theory, History, and Art of Education in the University of Edinburgh (1876-1903)"
Ph.D. thesis, Edinburgh University, 1949
- Myers, J.D. "Scottish Teachers and Educational Policy, 1803-1872: attitudes and influences"
Ph.D. thesis, Edinburgh University, 1970.